

THE
WORKS
OF

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bar^t

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOLUME III.

To which is prefixed,

The LIFE and CHARACTER of the AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for G. HAMILTON & J. BALFOUR, A. KINCAID & A.
DONALDSON, L. HUNTER, W. GORDON, J. YAIR, and
C. WRIGHT; and for A. STALKER, at *Glasgow*.

M,DCC,LIV.

THE

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OF

ST WILLIAM TEMPLE, Esq.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.



1811

THE LIFE AND CHARACTER OF THE AUTHOR.

EDINBURGH:

Printed for C. Hamilton & J. Baillie, A. Nicolson & A.
Donaldson, Booksellers, W. Gordon, J. Yair, and
C. Wright, and for A. Strachan, Edinburgh.

MDCCLXXI.

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*, Bart.

AND OTHER

MINISTERS *of* STATE,

Both at HOME *and* ABROAD:

CONTAINING AN

A C C O U N T

Of the most

IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS

That passed in *Christendom* from 1665 to 1672.

Reviewed by Sir W. TEMPLE *some time before his death:*

And Published by JONATHAN SWIFT, domestic Chaplain
to his Excellency the Earl of Berkeley, one of the Lords
Justices of Ireland.

LETTERS

WRITTEN BY

ST. WILLIAM TEMPLE, Esq.

AND OTHERS

MINISTERS OF STATE

Both at HOME and ABROAD:

CONTAINING AN

ACCOUNT

Of the most

IMPORTANT TRANSACTIONS
That passed in England from 1688 to 1701.

Reviewed by St. W. Temple from time to time.

And Published by Jonathan Bury, Stationer, at his
to his Excellence the Lord of Albemarle, one of the Lords
Justices of the Bedchamber.

T O H I S
MOST SACRED MAJESTY
W I L L I A M I I I .

KING of *England, Scotland, France and
Ireland, &c.*

T H E S E
L E T T E R S

O F

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*

Having been left to my Care, they are most
humbly presented to YOUR MAJESTY
by

*Your Majesty's most dutiful
and obedient Subject,*

JONATHAN SWIFT.

TO HIS

MOST SACRED MAJESTY

WILLIAM III.

KING of England, Scotland, France and
Ireland, &c.

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THE
Publisher's EPISTLE
TO THE
READER.

THE collection of the following letters is owing to the diligence of Mr. Thomas Downton, who was one of Sir William Temple's Secretaries during the whole time wherein they bear date. And it has succeeded very fortunately for the public, that there is contained in them an account of all the chief transactions and negotiations, which passed in Christendom during the seven years wherein they are dated; as, the war with Holland, which began in 1665: the treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of Munster, with the issue of it: the French invasion of Flanders in the year 1667: the peace concluded between Spain and Portugal, by the King's mediation: the treaty at Breda: the triple alliance; and the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the first part. And in the second part, the negotiations in Holland in consequence of those alliances, with the steps and degrees by which they came to decay: the journey and death of Madame: the seizure of Lorrain, and his Excellency's recalling; with the first unkindness between England and Holland, upon the yacht's transporting his Lady and his family: and the beginning of the second Dutch war in 1672.

With these are intermixed several letters, familiar and pleasant.

10 The Publisher's Epistle to the Reader.

I found the book among Sir William Temple's papers with many others, wherewith I had the opportunity of being long conversant, having passed several years in his family.

I pretend no other part, than the care that Mr. Downton's book should be correctly transcribed, and the letters placed in the order they were writ. I have also made some literal amendments, especially in the Latin, French and Spanish: these I have taken care should be translated and printed in another column, for the use of such readers as may be unacquainted with the originals. Whatever faults there may be in the translation, I doubt, I must answer for the greater part, and must leave the rest to those friends who were pleased to assist me. I speak only of the French and Latin; for the few Spanish translations, I believe, need no apology.

It is generally believed, that this author has advanced our English tongue to as great a perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a master he was of it, has, I think, never appeared so much, as it will in the following letters; wherein the style appears so very different, according to the difference of the persons to whom they were addressed; either men of business, or idle; of pleasure, or serious; of great or of less parts or abilities, in their several stations. So that one may discover the characters of most of those persons he writes to, from the style of his letters.

At the end of each volume is added a collection, copied by the same hand, of several letters to this Ambassador, from the chief persons employed, either at home or abroad, in these transactions, and during six years course of his negotiations. Among which are many from Pensionary John De Witt, and all the writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that Minister so renowned in his time.

*It has been justly complained of, as a defect among us, that the English tongue has produced no letters of any
value*

value; to supply which, it has been the vein of late years, to translate several out of other languages, though, I think, with little success. Yet, among many advantages which might recommend this sort of writing, it is certain, that nothing is so capable of giving a true account of story as letters are; which describe actions, while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other relations are of actions past and dead. So, as it hath been observed, that the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus give a better account of those times, than is to be found in any other writer.

In the following letters, the reader will every where discover the force and spirit of this author; but that which will most value them to the public, both at home and abroad, is, first, that the matters contained in them were the ground and foundation whereon all the wars and invasions, as well as all the negotiations and treaties of peace in Christendom, have since been raised; and next, that they are written by a person who had so great a share in all these transactions and negotiations,

By residing in this family, I know the author has had frequent instances from several great persons, both at home and abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those affairs and transactions, which are the subject of the following papers; and particularly of the treaties of the triple alliance, and those of Aix-la-Chapelle: but his usual answer was, That whatever Memoirs he had written of those times and negotiations were burnt; however, that perhaps after his death some papers might come out, wherein there would be some account of them; by which, he has often told me, he meant these letters,

I had begun to fit them for the press during the author's life, but never could prevail for leave to publish them; though he was pleased to be at the pains of reviewing, and to give me his directions for digesting them into order. It has since pleased God to take this great and good person to himself; and he having done me the honour to leave
and

and recommend to me the care of his writings, I thought I could not at present do a greater service to my country, or to the author's memory, than by making these papers public.

By way of introduction, I need only take notice, that, after the peace of the Pyrenees, and his Majesty's happy restoration in 1660, there was a general peace in Christendom (except only the remainder of a war between Spain and Portugal) until the year 1665, when that between England and Holland began, which produced a treaty between his Majesty and the Bishop of Munster. And this commences the following letters.

THE

T H E

First DUTCH War,

Begun *May* 1665.

To Sir John Temple, *Master of the Rolls* of Ireland.

S I R,

Brussels, Sept. 6. 1665.

THOUGH I was forced, by the King's command, not only to leave you and my family at very short warning, and in a very melancholy season, but without so much as telling you whither I was sent; yet I would not fail making you this amends, by giving you an account of my journey and negotiations thus far, so soon as I thought it might be fit for me to do it.

When my Lord *Arlington* sent for me to *Sheen*, it was to let me know that the King had received an overture from the Bishop of *Munster*, to enter into an alliance with his Majesty against the *Dutch*, from whom he pretended many injuries; to bring an army into the field, and fall upon them by land, while his Majesty continued the war by sea: but at the same time to demand certain sums of money, that would be necessary to bring him into the field, and to continue the war: and that if his Majesty would either treat with the Baron of *Wreden*, (who was the Minister he sent over in the greatest privacy that could be) or send a Minister

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Minister of his own to treat with him, he doubted not an easy agreement upon this matter; but desired it might be with all the secret imaginable. My Lord *Arlington* told me, the main articles were already agreed on here, and the money adjusted; but that it was necessary for the King to send over some person privately to finish the treaty at *Munster*, and to see the payments made at *Antwerp*, where the Bishop seemed to desire them. That I must go (if I undertook it) without train or character, and pass for a *Frenchman* or a *Spaniard* in my journey; and made me the compliment to say, he had been perplexed three or four days together, to think of a person that was not only capable of the affair and of the secret, but that was to be trusted with such a sum of money: but that when he had thought of me, and proposed me to the King and to my Lord Chancellor, they had both approved it, and I must suddenly resolve upon my answer to the proposal he made me: but whether I accepted it or no, I must keep it secret from my nearest friends.

I told him upon the place, I would serve his Majesty the best I could in it, though, being a new man, I could not promise much for myself; that there was only one point I could by no means digest, which was the business of the money, having ever been averse from charging myself with any body's but my own. This made at first some difficulty between us; but at last his Lordship was content to endeavour the engaging Alderman *Backwell* (who furnished it) to go over himself with it into *Flanders*, and there, by my order, to make the payment to the Bishop's agent, and said, he believed at such a time of infection in *London*, the Alderman might easily take an occasion of such a journey.

After my instructions dispatched, I came away in haste, and with the secret you saw; and, without more than one day's stop at *Brussels*, went strait with the Ba-

ron of *Wreden* to *Goefvelt*, where the Bishop then was. I staid there but three days; was brought to him only by night, agreed all points with him, perfected and signed the treaty, and returned to *Antwerp*, where the Alderman performed his part, in making the first and great payment to the Bishop's resident there. All this has been performed on all sides with so great secrecy, that the Bishop has not only received his money, but raised his troops to about eighteen thousand men, without the least umbrage given, that I can yet hear of, to the *Dutch*; and, by all the assurances I receive from him, I conclude, that before this letter comes to your hands he will be in the field; though some unexpected disappointments, about a general officer he reckoned upon, has a little discomposed the measures he had taken, and may (I doubt not a little maim the progress of them: but that will be governed by time and accidents; my business was to bring him into the field, and I have had the fortune to do it sooner than either they expected at Court, or the Bishop had promised upon our signing of the treaty.

He is a man of wit, and, which is more, of sense, of great ambition, and properly *un esprit remuant*: but the vigour of his body does not second that of his mind, being, as I guess, about six or seven and fifty years old, and pursued with the gout, which he is not like to cure by his manner of life. He was a soldier in his youth, and seems, in his naturals, rather made for the *Sword* than the *Cross*: he has a mortal hatred to the *Dutch* for their supporting his city of *Munster* against him, and is bridling those citizens by a very strong citadel he is building there. He seems bold and resolute, and like to go through with what he has undertaken, or break his head in the attempt, and says he will perform all he has engaged, *fide sincerâ et Germanicâ*, which is a word he affects. He speaks the only good *Latin* that I have yet met with in *Germany*,

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my, and more like a man of Court and business than a scholar: he says, if he fails in his enterprize, and should lose his country, he shall esteem his condition not at all the worse; for in that case he will go into *Italy*, and has money enough in the bank of *Venice* to buy a Cardinal's cap, which may become him better than his General's staff; though he has a mind to try this first, and make some noise in the world before he retires.

This is the best character I can give of the Bishop; and for myself, I can say nothing but what you know; finding no change at all by this fall into a new scene of life and business, as well as climate; my health, I thank God, the same; my kindness so too, to my friends and to home; only my concernment for them in this miserable time among them, much greater while I am here than when I was with them, which makes me very impatient after every post that comes in, and yet very apprehensive of every letter I open. The length of this I doubt is too much for once, and therefore shall end with the assurances of my being,

S I R,

Your most obedient Son

and humble servant,

W. TEMPLE.

To Alderman Backwell,

Mr. Alderman,

Brussels, Oct. 9. 1665.

I AM very much in pain to find at Monsieur Rhin-torf's return, that he has made no progress in his affairs (which are our's too) during the stay he has lately made at *Antwerp*. But I am very much surprised to hear that I should have had any part in this delay, and

and that you should have told him, you had no orders from me to pay him that money. However, to take away all scruple, if any can still remain, after our last conference at *Brussels* upon this subject, I do by these presents order and appoint you, pursuant to those powers that have been given me from the King, to pay or cause to be paid to Monsieur *Rhintorf*, or his order, all such sums of money as you shall any ways be able to raise, either by the sale of such tin as is already arrived, or shall arrive at *Ostend* upon his Majesty's account, with all the diligence and dispatch that is possible. Or in case you do not find any ready sale for it, that you will at least pay him all such sums as you shall be able to raise, by pawning or engaging it to the best advantage you can; after this I need say no more, than to conjure you by all the zeal you have for his Majesty's service, and all the friendship you have for me, to employ upon this occasion your utmost diligence and credit; for the conjuncture is grown so extremely pressing at this time, that I can never say enough to recommend this service to your best endeavours.

I am, SIR,

Your Servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Brussels*, Oct. 13. N. S. 1665.

UPON Saturday last, about nine at night, the Bishop's agent here brought me a desire from the * *Marquis* to come privately to him. We staid long together, and talked much. The substance was, that he had last post writ to the *Spanish* Ambassador to inform the King, that he heard the *French* were ready to march in assistance of the *Hollander* against the Bishop

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C

of

* Of Castel Rodrigo, Governor of the Spanish Netherlands.

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of *Munster*, and had told the *Spanish* Ambassador in *France*, they should take all delays here in leave of passage for denial: that he (the *Marquis*) was resolved, upon confidence of his Majesty's late letter and assistance, to oppose them till he received orders from *Spain*, and hopes his Majesty will not fail of protecting and defending him in this resolution: he speaks with much earnestness and passion for concluding the league between *England* and *Spain*; and either a peace or truce between *Spain* and *Portugal*; in which he very much presses his Majesty's interposition at this time; because nothing else will take away the dishonour on the *Spanish* side, but the respect given to so great and powerful a King's mediation. He assures me, he has given an absolute denial to the *Hollanders* demand of buying a great quantity of corn in these countries, which now begins to be one, among their other great wants: that the *French*, upon jealousy of the *Swede*, sent very lately an *Envoy* into *Holland*, to join with them in pressing the *Dane* to put himself into a posture of making a diversion: that for security of these countries, six thousand *Spaniards* and *Italians* were in a few days expected here; these by land, those by sea: and that for raising *German* troops, he had last week sent five hundred thousand guilders into *Germany*, from whence, if they needed, he could have twenty-four thousand men, so as he doubted not to defend these countries, if *France* assaults him. The bias of all this discourse was to shew they had no great need of our assistance, at the same time they press so much to be assured of it; and to represent the mutual necessity of a conjunction between *England* and *Spain*, with all the expressions of affection to his Majesty's person and service, that a courtier, or almost a lover could use. Upon this last subject I could not let him pass with the discourse of the late King's ruin, and his Majesty's danger at home, for want of friendship abroad; nor could

could I leave that point, because he had so often harped upon it, till I forced him to confess, at least by silence, that his Majesty was as safe at home at this time, as either *French* or *Spanish* King.

For the rest, finding him now much warmer than he used to seem in the desires of the Bishop of *Munster's* success, or at least, preservation; and finding from Alderman *Backwell* that he had yet been able to raise no more money upon all our tin at *Antwerp* for the second payment, those paltry merchants combining to ruin him in the price of of it, upon the belief of his necessity to sell: I would not omit that occasion of desiring the *Marquis* to find some person out that should take it all off our hands with ready money, which they might raise at their own leisure, and, I believed, with much gains; in which I assured him he would give his Majesty a great testimony of his affection to his service, which was so much concerned in the Bishop of *Munster's* fortunes. He told me, he would consult about it next morning; and upon *Sunday* night sent one with a dispatch of mine to Alderman *Backwell*, to know the whole quantity, and lowest price: so that I am now in great hopes of seeing some good issue of that business, which I almost begun to despair of.

An express from the Bishop of *Munster* came to me on *Saturday* last, protesting he could no longer subsist unless the money came; and your Lordship may easily imagine how much pain I am in upon that occasion; especially hearing myself so often reproached for having drawn him to so desperate an adventure, so much against his own resolutions, which were, not to take the field till the second payment were received, and the third assured on this side: it would look like vanity in me, to tell your Lordship more, of what I hear too much, of this kind; but I will say, that unless you take some speedy and effectual resolution
in

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in this particular, I shall look like the veriest rogue in the world, and such, as it will not be much for his Majesty's honour to employ. But after all I will tell your Lordship freely, that I think all my trains had not taken fire without a perfect accident, which I had the good fortune to improve so upon the sudden, as to make it the absolute occasion of the Bishop's taking the field when he did; which I shall some time or other, I hope, entertain you with, and will serve for a moral to shew how small shadows and accidents sometimes give a rise to great actions among mankind; for either such, or the beginning of such, this bold march is like to prove. All I know of its success you will find in these letters; one from my Lord *Carlingford*, to whom I cannot send your Lordship's last, till I have further directions from him for my address; the other being part of one from a person in the *Holland* camp belonging to the *Rbingrave*. Twenty rumours more we have of his successes, but I will not yet credit them: this much I will, that nothing can probably endanger him besides want of money, and that I know him to be a man too firm to be diverted from his point, or slacken it without some such main; for he wants neither prudence, courage, nor ambition. For the *Hollanders* they were certainly never worse at their ease than now, being braved and beaten both at sea and land; flayed with taxes, distracted with factions, and their last resource, which is the protection of *France*, poisoned with extreme jealousies; yet that must be their game, or else a perfect truckling peace with *England*.

I am ever,

Your Lordship's most faithful,

and most humble servant.

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, Nov. 20. N. S. 1665.

I AM to acknowledge the honour I received last, by one from your Grace of *October* the 25th, which gives me the occasion to beg your belief, that the frequent troubles I give your Grace of this kind proceed from a most hearty and uninterested duty, without the least thoughts of making any unconscionable advantage by such a commerce, or at least expecting a return of so great value, as your Lordship's letters to a venture so small as mine. I confess I am extremely pleased with any testimonies of your Grace's remembrance and favour to me; which I must esteem the *best*, and ever acknowledge for the *first* of my good fortunes: Nor shall I ever be so much pleased with any lucky hits that may happen to me in public employments from any other respect, as from the hopes of meeting some occasion to express the esteem and resentment of kindness shewed me, when I was idle and unknown. But I beseech your Grace, never to give your self the least trouble, or lose time in writing to me upon the score of common civility, but to deal with me perfectly like one of your own; and write only when you have commands to honour me, or inclinations to oblige me; for the rest one word to my father or brother, may at any time give me the knowledge that mine are received, which is all they pretend, and perhaps more than they deserve.

Since the passage of the *French* troops, which thought fit to touch no part of these dominions, we hear little of them: their number fell something short of six thousand, their horse were brave as they passed *Mastricht*; their foot rascally, their shoes upon their shoulders, their feet galled, and their gallantry spent in giving the *Dutch* a thousand times to the Devil for their

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their kind invitation: they paid nothing as they passed, or false money; took the best treatment the *Dutch* could make them with scorn and insolence, and drank his Majesty's and the Prince of *Munster*'s health openly in the market-place at *Mastricht*; a strain I suppose of their extravagance, rather than good meaning. So I leave them, as they do their colours when they can, and return this way by couples and leashes good store. By the last from the Prince of *Munster* of the 12th instant, we had assurance that his bridge over the marsh was perfected, his army joined, and that Colonel or Baron *d'Offory*, (who is made a Serjeant *Major de Bataglia*) had with a squadron of horse killed nine hundred of the *Dutch* in a late encounter near *Groning*; besides this, and the *French* Envoys', Monsieur *Lessyn*, having been dismissed with general terms, I had nothing but desperate melancholy complaints of his disappointments from his friends, which I will not trouble your Grace with at this distance.

I had my first formal audience last night from the *Marquis*, and was received with the greatest expressions of zeal and devotion to the King my master's person and service; of the resentment of the honour done him by this resolution of a resident here, and wonderful compliment to the personal choice; as I believe your Grace knows, good words of all sorts cost no man less than his Excellency; but I am very confident his inclinations to us, his aversions to *France*, his desires of truce with *Portugal*, and strict league with *England*, are all very hearty.

I am ever,

Your Grace's most Obedient,

and most Humble Servant.

To

To the Baron Wreden,

Brussels, Dec.

SIR, 10. 1665.

I Received your's, and am glad of your arrival at Court, where I never doubted the good reception so honest a Gentleman would find, who came from so brave a Prince. I am sorry for your bad wine and lodging at Oxford; for as to the former I know it is a sort of plague you are more afraid of than that at London, where in a little time I hope you will have no occasion to complain either of one or the other: in the mean while, take my word for the matter, 'tis but half a dozen glasses more, and good or bad comes all to the same thing. As for your lodging, in truth I believe the crowd is so great at present in every house, that you will hardly find an opportunity of making love to your landlady: but, Sir, you must have a little patience, and not think of succeeding in all amours at the rate you did with Mademoiselle Isabella; besides, if you remember, it cost you dear enough then, by the fright you were in of losing your great diamond. Love, like other things, is good for nothing when one makes too much haste in it; and our

English

Au Baron Wreden.

A Bruxelles, le 10.

Monsieur, Dec. N. S. 1665.

J'AY reçu la votre, & je me rejouis de votre arrivée a la Cour; je n'ay jamais douté qu'un aussi honette homme que vous, & qui a l'honneur d'être envoyé par un Prince aussi distingué, n'y trouvât toute sorte de bon accueil; Je prens part au mauvais giste d'Oxford, & au mechant vin que vous y avez bû. A l'égard de ce dernier, je sçay que c'est une sorte de peste que vous craignez plus que celle de Londres; & au reste, j'espere qu'avant qu'il soit peu, vous n'aurez plus sujet de vous y plaindre ni de l'un ni de l'autre. En attendant, croyez moy, il ne faut que six verres de vin de plus, il n'importe qu'il soit bon ou mauvais, & tout reviendra à la même chose. Pour le logement, je m'imagine que la foule est si grande à cette heure dans toutes les maisons, que vous ne trouvez pas les moyens de faire commodement l'amour à la fille du logis; mais, Monsieur, il faut avoir un peu de patience, & ne croire pas reussir toujours avec autant de bonheur & de rapidité que vous fites avec Mademoiselle Isabelle: encore, devez vous vous souvenir, qu'il vous en couta alors assez cher par l'extreme peur que vous eûtes, quand

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English Ladies do not care that men should be over violent in beginning this game, for fear they should be so in concluding it.

Well, I am heartily sorry I can give you no good recommendations where you are, because I am sure you would be so just and generous, to pay me by a bill of exchange on your little mistress here. But now I talk of a mistress, you must know *Monsieur la Chevalier* has ordered his affairs here worse than at *Paris*: for I believe seriously he passed through this place without so much as paying one visit to his; and that is the reason why he carried so much money to *Munster*, and rode post with greater vigour than ever he did from hence to *France*.

And is not this now a very fine letter for two grave Ministers of State? but come, we must talk a little of business, if it be only for the good grace of the matter: and yet I am confident, if *Sir Bealing* would entertain you at this rate but once a month, and unbend himself a little from his serious way, you would reckon

quand vous vous appercûtes du danger que courroit le gros diamant. L'amour aussi bien que toutes les autres choses, ne vaut plus rien dès qu'on le traite trop à la bâte; & nos filles ne veulent point qu'on soit si précipité à commencer cette sorte de jeu, de peur que la fin ne ressemble trop au commencement.

Je suis, ma foy, très marri de ne pouvoir vous adresser sûrement dans la ville où vous êtes; car de l'humeur dont je vous connois, je sçay que vous seriez assez généreux, & assez équitable, pour me rembourser par une lettre d'échange sur votre petite maîtresse *Brabançonne*. Mais à propos de maîtresse, *Monsieur le Chevalier* a plus mal fait ses affaires icy qu'à *Paris*; car je croy tout de bon qu'il a passé par icy sans voir seulement la sienne; mais c'est par là aussi qu'il a porté tant d'argent à *Munster*, & qu'il a couru la poste plus courageusement qu'il n'a fait d'icy en *France*.

Voici, ma foy, une belle lettre pour deux sages Ministres; tout de bon il faut un peu parler d'affaires, ne fût-ce que pour sauver les apparences: mais, avouez la vérité, si le Chevalier *Bealing* vous entretenoit seulement une fois le mois, comme je viens de faire, & qu'en votre faveur il relachât un peu de ce grand sérieux, n'est il pas vray, qu'il

reckon him as your only friend, and think no more of me.

Well, but you have heard what the *Dutch* Resident tells us, that the Prince of *Munster* has taken *Reyde*, a small sea port, where his friends may come and give him a visit. The news from *Antwerp* say farther, that he has got the fort of *Bourtang*; but they add, how the Bishop of *Osnabrug* is resolved to let the world see, that a *Lutheran* Prelate is as good as a *Catholic*; and to that end, is resolved, at the head of some *Lunenbourg* troops, to go knock mitres with your Master: all in good time. And as for heads, I do not doubt the Prince of *Munster's* is much the stronger of the two; but for the mitres I can say nothing. I am told besides, that your Chapter of *Munster* has somewhat embroiled your Master's affairs; if this be so, there are more *Diabls de Canons* beside your self. But I believe the matter is not much; for if it were, I know the Prince would quickly make *Monsieur d'Herbe* and *Monsieur Majette* a couple of *Canons*, in exchange for some of those blockheads: and for *Grand Dean*, I think the Governor of *Pleuren*, with the great belly, would make a good figure enough. *Who knows* but such

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revolutions

qu'il n'y auroit plus que luy qui fût de vos amis, & que je perdrois la place que j'occupe dans votre souvenir.

Savez vous bien que le *Resident d'Hollande* avoue que le Prince de *Munster* a pris *Reyde*, un petit port de mer, ou il peut être visité de ses amis; & que les avis d'*Anvers* nous disent, qu'il est venu à bout du fort de *Bourtang*. Mais on dit aussi que l'*Evêque d'Osnabrug* est fort piqué de la pensée qu'on peut avoir qu'un *Evêque Lutherien* ne vait pas un *Evêque Catholique*; & qu'il est tout résolu de s'avancer à la tête de quelques troupes de *Lunebourg*, & d'aller heurter sa mitre contre celle de votre Maître: à la bonne heure; car je ne doute pas que *Monsieur le Prince* n'ait la tête plus forte & plus dure; à l'égard des mitres je n'en say rien. On m'a dit aussi, que votre *Chapitre de Munster* va un peu brouiller les affaires de votre Maître; si cela est, voilà may foy des *Diabls de Canons*, aussi bien que vous. Mais je croy qu'il n'en est rien; car si cela étoit, le Prince ne manqueroit pas de faire bientôt deux *Chanoines de Messieurs d'Herbe* & de *Majette*, & de les échanger pour quelqu'un de ces étourdis: le *Gouverneur de Pleuren* ne manqueroit de pretence, si le titre de grand *Doyen* étoit enté sur son gros ventre. On ne sait point si de pareils changemens ne pourroient pas bien arriver;

D

river;

26 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

revolutions may happen ? For, to speak in your own words, *The world is as round as a—* For my own part, I had rather be one of your Master's *Priests* than his *Soldiers* ; for they say here, that he rises at four o'clock, gives them [his *Soldiers*] his benediction, and then sends them to the D— over bogs and marshes, where no secular Captain durst ever pass.

Farewel, Sir ; and when you intend to warm yourself with sack, pray remember to order your servants, instead of removing your sword, to remove your purse, and prevent you from doing (according to your custom) more good than you design, as they prevent others from doing mischief. For it is a custom in *England*, that whatever a man gives away over night, he hears no more of it next morning. At all hours of both I am,

S I R,

Your most

affectionate servant.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Brussels, Dec. 12.

My Lord, N. S. 1665.

THE news of your Excellency's indisposition has very sensibly afflicted me ; but God

river ; car (selon votre phrase Allemande) Roond is the world as een— Pour moy, j'aime-rois mieux être de ses *Prêtres* que de ses *Soldats* ; car on dit icy qu'il leur donne sa benediction, & les envoie au diable, je veux dire, à travers de mauvais impracticables, d'où jamais Capitaine seculier n'auroit osé approcher.

Adieu Monsieur, & souvenez vous bien en vous echauffant des fumées du vin des Canaries, qu'on prend souvent la precaution d'oter de devant un homme qui a bû, son épée, de peur qu'il ne fasse le mechant ; mais que vos amis en doivent prendre une opposée, qui est de vous oter votre argent, de peur que ne fassiez trop le genereux ; car en Angleterre, ce qu'on donne le soir, ne se retrouve plus le matin : quant à moy, & le soir & le matin vous me trouverez, toujours,

Monsieur,

votres tres

affectionné serviteur.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Brussels, Dec. 12.

Monsieur, S. N. 1665.

LA nouvelle de l'indisposition que votre Excellence a ressentie depuis quelque jours, m'a

God Almighty will, I doubt not, quickly restore your health, which is of too great importance to *Christendom*, to sink under common accidents.

I desire your pardon for the liberty I take to let you know, how Monsieur *Rhintorf* complains exceedingly, that he finds yet no advance in the affair you were pleased to undertake for his Master's sake, and indeed for that of the King my Master too. I desire your Excellency once more to give your hand to it; and that if those merchants will not buy the tin, you will give order at least to have it engaged for three parts of its value, so as some present remedy may be found to the Bishop's necessities, wherewith (by means of this delay) he is now pressed to the last extremities.

I take more part in this affair, having already writ to the King my Master, that you had wholly finished it in affection to his service, for which I do not doubt but you will receive his Majesty's thanks by the first courier; so that I shall be in the greatest confusion imaginable if the business fails, and his Majesty cannot chuse but think me very impertinent.

By

m'a sensiblement touché; mais je ne doute point, que Dieu ne rétablisse bien-tôt une santé qui est trop nécessaire à la Chrétienté pour succomber sous des accidens vulgaires

Je vous demande pardon de la liberté que je prens de vous avertir que Monsieur Rhintorf se plaint extrêmement de ce qu'il ne trouve encore rien de fait dans l'affaire qu'il vous a plu de pendre à coeur en faveur de son Maître; ainsi que sur la recommandation du Roy mon Maître: je supplie V. E. d'y mettre encore un fois la main, & de donner ordre que si on a résolu de ne point accepter cette marchandise, du moins on la prenne en gage pour les trois quarts de sa valeur; à fin de remédier sur le champ aux nécessitez dont Monsieur l'Evêque se trouve pressé, qui peut être sont rendues extremes par ce retardement

Je me trouve d'autant plus intéressé dans cette affaire, qu'ayant déjà mandé au Roy mon Maître que vous l'aviez tout-à-fait finie dans la vue de rendre service à sa Majesté, ce qui vous sera sans doute marqué avec remerciement de sa part par le premier courier; je serois l'homme du monde le plus confus, & le plus impertinent aux yeux du Roy mon Maître, si cette affaire venoit à manquer.

Par

28 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

By my last dispatch from Court, of the 18th instant, I am informed that the Spanish Ambassador did that evening privately deliver his new credentials to the King, to whom and his Ministers he still continued to be very acceptable; and that upon arrival of these credentials, they began to enter in good earnest upon adjusting our common interests.

By a letter of the 15th instant, from the Prince of Munster, I am informed of the great and happy progress of his arms; but on the other side, that the *Hollanders* used their last endeavours to raise against him all the Protestant Princes of the *Empire*, under pretext, that religion has part in the quarrel, as well as the interest of the house of *Austria*: and on both these accounts, as well as from your own generosity, your Excellency is engaged not to disappoint him in this little occasion: not to alledge the moral, which tells us, that, *what-ever good we can do, without damage to ourselves, we are obliged to do, even to a stranger.*

Upon an answer from your Excellency, I am ready to dispatch an express to *Antwerp*, and shall remain,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble
and obedient servant.

Par la dernière lettre que j'ay reçue la Cour dattée du 18. du courant, j'ay été averti que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne avoit le soir de ce jour là présenté au Roy ses nouvelles lettres de creance & que sa personne étoit toujours fort agreable, à lui & à ses Ministres: qu'au reste, sur l'arrivée de ces nouvelles lettres de creance on alloit commencer de fort bon coeur à ajuster nos interets communs.

Par une lettre du Prince de Munster du 15. du courant, j'ay été averti de ses grands & heurux progres; mais que d'un autre côté, les Hollandois faisoient tous leurs efforts pour soulever contre luy tous les Princes Protestans de l'Empire; sous le pretexte que la religion & la maison d'Autriche y étoient interessées. C'est par là aussi bien que par votre generosité que vous êtes engagé à ne luy pas manquer en cette petite occasion, pour n'alleguer pas la morale qui nous dit, Quicquid sine detrimento facere potes, vel ignoto faciendum.

Sur la réponse de V. E. je suis tout prêt à depecher un exprez à Anvers; & bien resolu d'estre toujours,

De V. E.

Le tres humble & tres
obeissant serviteur.

Ta

To Sir William Coventry.

S I R, Brussels, Dec. 15. N. S. 1665.

I Am to acknowledge both the honour and obligation I received by yours of *November* the 9th, the last of which seems so great in that light you give it, and by those circumstances I now see attend it, that, had it come from any other hands, I should have wished a thousand times never to have received it. For there are very few I desire much to be obliged to, having always thought that a sort of debt, which ought as duly to be paid as that of money, with more interest, and much greater difficulty of casting up. But, knowing that all generous persons are apt to favour, and esteem their own, rather such whom they oblige, than such as serve them: I am extremely glad to have my name enter into the knowledge of his *Royal Highness*, by his bounty and favour in the grant of those passports, rather than any other way I could have taken; and beg of you, that with my humble thanks, his *Royal Highness* may know I enter into his service with this advance of wages, which it shall be always my endeavour, as it is my duty, to deserve. I owe, and should say, a great deal to yourself upon this occasion, but that, with my thanks for the thing itself, I am to join my complaints for the manner of it: I mean, that you should trouble yourself to reason me out of any custom or action you would have me leave off, or say any thing upon such a subject, besides that you wish it had been otherwise; which I desire you to believe, shall in far greater matters be, from your hand, persuasion and command enough to me. My presumptions may be great with my friends, but they are the easiliest checked of any man's alive; which is all I shall say upon this occasion as to the future: and
for

30 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

for the past, I will only assure you, that I should not in the least have offered at what I did, had it not been at the earnest instance of the Prince of *Munster's* Resident here: and I am to make it my business abroad, to enter as far as I can into the secrets, and for that end, into the affections of such ministers as I have to deal with; and, as some men are to be gained directly by their *heart*, so are others by their *hands*. But another fault were easier to be born than a long excuse; I will not add to it by our news, since of all I write I am sure you know as much as you please; only in general our Bishop loses not courage nor strength upon all the great preparations of enemies, or disappointment of friends. The *Dutch* seem to be plagued by their own God, and to grow unhappy in their own element, the sea having done them, in the last storms, most extravagant harms: some letters from *Amsterdam* say to the value of thirty, and others, of sixty millions: their case may grow harder yet, if the frosts do so from the *Munster* side. Our Court here is passionate towards the league between the two Crowns; as I am in the desires of growing in your friendship and favour, and deserving it by any testimonies I can give of my being.

S I R,

your most faithful

humble servant.

To Dame Augustina Cary.

MADAM, Brussels, Feb. 16. N. S. 1666.

I Know not whether the shame of having been so long in your debt, be greater than that of paying it so ill at last; but I am sure 'tis much harder to be

be excused, and therefore shall not attempt it, but leave it to Father *Placid's* oratory ; though, having failed in the *substantial* part of your business, I have little reason to hope he will succeed better in the *ceremonial* part of mine. The truth is, there is so great a difference in common sound between, *it is done*, and *it will be done*, that I was unwilling to acknowledge the honour of having received your Ladyship's commands, before I had compassed that of obeying them ; which the *Marquis* here hath so often assured me would suddenly fall to my share, that I thought we had both equal reason, *his Excellency* to do it, and I to believe it. This right I must yet do him, that I never pressed him in this concern of your Ladyship's, but he told me all my arguments were needless ; for the thing should be done ; and how to force a man that yields I never understood ; but yet I much doubt, that, till the result be given upon the gross of this affair, which is and has been some time under view, your part in particular will hardly be thought ripe, for either his justice, or favour, which will be rather the style it must run in, if it be a desire of exemption from a general rule given in the case. Whatever person (after the *Father's* return) shall be appointed to observe the course of this affair, and pursue the Lady's pretensions here, will be sure of all the assistance I can at any time give him ; though I think it would prove a more publick service to find some way of dissolving your society, and by that means dispersing so much worth about the world, than, by preserving you together, confine it to a corner, and suffer it to shine so much less, and go out so much sooner than otherwise it would. The ill effects of your retreat appear too much in the ill success of your business ; for I cannot think any thing could fail that your Ladyship would solicit ; but, I presume, nothing in this lower scene is worthy either that, or
so

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so much as your *desire* or *care*, which are words that enter not *your* grates, to disturb that perfect quiet and indifferency, which I will believe inhabit there, and by your happiness decide the long dispute, whether the greater lies in wanting nothing, or possessing much.

I cannot but tell you it was unkindly done to refresh the memory of your brother *Da. Cary's* loss, which was not a more general one to mankind, than it was particular to me: but if I can succeed in your Ladyship's service, as well as I had the honour once to do in his friendship, I shall think I have lived to good purpose here, and for hereafter shall leave it to Almighty God, with a submission as abandoned, as you can exercise in the low common concernments of this worthless life, which I can hardly imagine was intended us for so great a misery as it is here commonly made, or to betray so large a part of the world to so much greater hereafter, as is commonly believed. However, I am obliged to your Ladyship for your prayers, which I am sure are well intended me, and shall return you mine. That no ill thoughts of my *faith* may possess your Ladyship with an ill one of my *works* too, which I am sure cannot fail of being very *meritorious*, if ever I reach the intentions I have of expressing myself upon all occasions,

MADAM,

your Ladyship's most humble

and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, Mar. 1. N. S. 1666.

I Need say nothing to bring your Lordship acquainted with Mr. *Sherwood's* person or errand; yet because all men take themselves to measure best their own business, I would not disappoint his desires of this address; though, to add any thing to what I write upon all occasions, of the Prince of *Munster's* condition, necessities, or complaints, were, as I take it, just so much of nothing to the purpose. All I will say is, that whatever his Majesty resolves to do, ought to be sudden, and in a lump, to provide for his taking the field this spring, with heart and strength, which I believe a sum within the compass of a hundred of his Majesty's subjects would enable him to do: nothing will ever hinder me, to give your Lordship those testimonies I desire, of the most hearty constant passion, wherewith I shall ever be

My Lord,

your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Albemarle.

My Lord, Brussels, Mar. 1. N. S. 1666.

UPON Mr. *Sherwood's* passage this way into England, from the Bishop of *Munster*, I could not refuse him the occasion of waiting upon your Grace, who so well knows how far his Majesty's honour and interest may be concerned in the success of his errand.

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E

Though

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Though that Prince's necessities may be grown great, as well as his complaints and the arrears of his payments, yet I am confident, five and twenty or thirty thousand pounds in a lump, and sudden, would bring him strong and vigorous into the field this spring, which would prove a cheap advantage to his Majesty's arms, and perhaps the greatest in sight, next to your Grace's commanding this summer's fleet; from which we all here certainly reckon upon a success, suitable to the rest of your fortunes and glories, which I hope to see compleated upon the *French* fleets. Mine will be great, if your Grace pleases to esteem me, as you will ever have reason to do,

My Lord,

your Grace's most faithful

humble servant.

To my Lord Carlingford.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 6. N. S. 1666.

I Have this exception to your service, that my faults are taken notice of, and not my diligence: for in your Lordship's of the 21st past, I find not the least mention of any letters received from me, though I am confident, by other circumstances, some of them must have been come to your hands. I fear your news at *Vienna* is not so good nor true as your wine; and, by the abundance of reports, with shallow grounds, I doubt your Court is rather inclined to *hear* news than to make it. That *Brandenburgh* is our enemy, at least for four months, is too certain: that *Sweden* is a friend to *Munster*, we may guess rather from causes, than any effects that I know of: and since neither the Emperor nor *Spain* will contribute any

any thing towards the *Bishop's* assistance, nor so much as the staying off enemies, that by *Dutch* and *French* are raising up against him in the Empire itself, I know no remedy. But yet in spite of all force and artifice to disarm him, I expect, for my part, to see him rather besieged in *Coesvelt* or *Munster*, than make a peace without our Master's consent, as is hoped by our enemies, and perhaps wished by some of our friends, for fear the continuance of his music should make them dance before they have a mind to it. But I believe all their coldness and shrinking will hardly defend them, and may help them rather to lose their friends, than gain their enemies; for we have certain news that the *French* have made a *place d'armes* between *la Fere* and *Peronne*, where that King is coming down to the rendezvous of fifteen thousand men: and the *Hollanders*, on the other side, are so incurably possessed with an opinion of some wonderful deep important league between us and *Spain*, that they are upon the very brink of resolving a war too, and concluding a league offensive, as well as defensive, with *France*; at least, if the ascendant of this year be favourable to *De Witt's* party as that of the last was, which begins to be a little doubted of late. I will not send your Lordship any *English* letters, nor our declaration of war against the *French*, in confidence it goes along with your packet; by which you will see his Majesty hath been as generous and civil as the *French* King was rough in his, to call it no worse: but he hath begun the war with so much heat, that I am apt to believe he will come to be cool before it ends.

I shall ill deserve your Lordship's leave of writing often, if I do it so long, and so little to the purpose together. After I have told you my Lord *Ossory* is come over into *England*, and that my Lord *Arlington* is for certain (as they say both in *England* and here)

to

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to marry the Lady *Æmilia*, my Lady of *Offory's* sister, I will give your Lordship the good night, almost as late as I imagine you use to go to bed, and only tell you that I am at all hours,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most
humble servant.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

S I R,

Brussels, Mar. 12. N. S. 1666.

THOUGH it be more easy and more usual to beg favours, than to acknowledge them, yet I find you are resolved to force me upon the last, without ever giving me time or occasion for the other. How much I am obliged to you in my last dispatch, I am told enough by Mr. *Godolphin*, but more by my own heart, which will never suffer me to believe, that a person to whom I have been so long, and am so much a servant, should be any other than kind to me; for that is my way of judging my absent friends, and serves, like a watch in my pocket, to measure the time, though I see no sun. The very name of time puts me in mind, that yours is not to be spent idly; and that you are more pleased to oblige your friends, than to receive their thanks: and therefore I will only say, that mine are very sensible and very hearty, and that no man is with more reason and with more sincereness than I am,

S I R,

your affectionate

humble servant.

To the Bishop of Munster.

Brussels, Mar. 12.

S I R, N. S. 1666.
YOUR Highness's letter of the 9th instant came in due time to my hands, by which I plainly find with how much faith and constancy, as well as wisdom and courage, your Highness intends to order your affairs. My utmost endeavours shall not be wanting for the advancing of them, as well as for encreasing and cultivating the confidence his Majesty hath in your Highness, (on which the common league chiefly relies) especially at this time, when so many ill-designing men use all endeavours to shake or destroy it, wherein it is hard to tell whether their folly or malice be greater.

I hear every day in this city, that your Highness has made peace with the *Hollanders*, without any regard to us or our league, or so much as consulting his Majesty upon it: and I pretend to believe what I am told, though I am inwardly assured to the contrary. As for whispers and rumours, it is not my custom either to amuse others, or perplex myself with them. I confess I was somewhat moved

Episcopo Monasterii.

Bruxellis, Mar. 19.

Celsissime Dom. N.S. 1666.

RECTE et tempestivè admodum mihi redditae sunt literae Celsitudinis vestrae, 9. Martii datae; è quibus planè perspexi quàm inconcussâ fide, et quàm decorâ constantiâ C. V. res suas semper ornatura sit, dum eadem eximiâ prudentiâ et animo molitur interea, et gubernat. Mihi certè nihil erit unquam antiquius isto officio, quod semper praestiti et praestiturus sum tam in illis omni modo promovendis, quam in formandâ, et si opus fuerit erigendâ sacrae suae Regiae Majestatis fiduciâ, quâ praecipuè niti videtur communis foederis vinculum et robur, hoc praesertim tempore cum multi et vafri et ventosi homines illam pedibus eant labefactatum, majore levitate nescio, an malitiâ.

In hac urbe pacem jam ratam iri inter C. Vm. et Hollandos, posthabitis omnino rationibus et foederis et nostris, nedum consultâ voluntate, ego utrisque auribus quotidie accipio; credulitatem simulo, toto autem pe-
tore inficias eo. Rumoribus certè et susurris nec mihi alios pascere assuetum, nec meipsum excruciare; commotum me paulo fateor literis Ducis Brunsvicensis viro sagaci in hac urbe transmissis, quas ipse nuperri-

ved with a letter from the Duke of *Brunswick*, to a man of understanding in this city, which I lately saw and read; wherein he seems to feed himself and his friend with hopes of a speedy peace in all those parts of *Germany*, and assures him, from his certain knowledge, that the Prince of *Munster* will accept it, in case it be offered to him, without the greatest ignominy and loss; wherein he says the neighbour Princes use all means to engage him.

I am sorry to find the Marquis of *Castel Rodrigo* of the same opinion; because I know the event must be dishonourable to your Highness, and will be imputed to the King my Master, perhaps as imprudence, at least, as ill fortune. Nor do I think the *Spaniards*, at this time of day, so generous as to promote the league (which we hope to see confirmed by my Lord *Sandwich's* embassy into *Spain*) if they once imagine, though but falsely, that his Majesty, among such potent enemies, is forsaken by his nearest confederates.

On the contrary, I am intirely persuaded, as well from your Highness's last letter, as from your virtue and good sense, that you have too great a regard for your faith and honour, to darken the lustre of so fair a life, by so foul a stain.

This

mè vidi, legique diligentius, in quibus, et sese, et amicum multà spe laetare videtur pacis in universis istis Germaniae partibus breviter restituendae; sibi pro comperto constare asserit, principem Monasterii eam libentissimè accepturum, modò sine summâ ignominia et damno eam oblatum iri contingat; in quo vicinos ait, Principes oleum et operam summo jam studio impendere.

Marchionem de *Castel Rodrigo* eandem imbibisse planè opinionem et sentio et doleo: quippe ejusmodi eventum et C. V. vitio verti necesse est, et Regi Domino meo, imprudentiae forsitan, aut saltem infœlicitati. Nec Hispanos usque adeo jam temporis generosos aestimo, ut probebendo foederi (quod jam arctius astrictum iri speramus nuperrimâ Comitissae de *Sandwich* in Hispaniam legatione) fortius impellant remos si Regem Dominum meum inter tantos hostes ab intimo foederato desertum iri, sibi vel falsò persuaserint.

Ego interea tam ex postremis literis, quàm ex ingenti C. V. indole et genio, moribus etiam et studiis, mihi è contra procul omni alèa persuasum habeo, eam virtuti, fidei, et gloriae nimis foeliciter litasse, quam ut tot decora tam insignis vitae tantâ labe infuscarî ullo modo patiatur.

This I do not fail continually, to inform both his Majesty and his Ministers; nor do I doubt, but if fortune shall be wanting to the justice of your arms, so far as that your Highness shall be in danger of being brought to the last extremities, you will at least have that regard to so sacred a league, and to the honour of so great a King, as to give his Majesty timely notice; declare the invincible necessities you lay under, and desire permission to enter upon new counsels.

As for us, I am sure your Highness is sufficiently convinced of his Majesty's care in performing his part, and how happily he has overcome the greatest difficulties and straits, wherein, by occasion of the late pestilence, his revenues have been involved. About ten days ago, I gave Monsieur Rhintorf letters of exchange for 77,000 dollars: he is a diligent person, a friend to the common league, and of equal probity and industry. I have given him also other letters, wherein a very rich merchant of *Amsterdam* has undertaken to transmit 30,000 dollars more to me with all convenient speed. I have also orders from his Majesty, to advance money for your Highness, upon a great quantity of tin, lately recovered from shipwreck at *Ostend*: and his

patiat. Hoc sacrae suae Regiae Majestati, hoc ministris regis inculcare non desino; nec ullus dubito, si tam justis armis fortuna in tantum defuerit, ut inter tot hostes C. V. in extremis se laboraturam praesentiat; quin hoc saltem tanto foederi, hoc tanti Regis nomini et auspiciis tribuendum judicet, ut sacram suam majestatem non inconsultam velit, necessitates insuperabiles exponat, veniamque demum impetret novis et alienis consiliis ineundis.

Quod ad partes nostras attinet, satis confido C. V. abunde exploratum habere quanto studio et opere sacra sua Regia Majestas explendis ad amussim singulis invigilaverit, quantaque demum foelicitate angustias et difficultates summas eluctata sit, quibus per nuperam contagionem res suas praecipue pecuniarias involutas sensit. Ego jam infra decem elapsos dies literas Cambii usque ad septuaginta septem Thalerorum millia valituras, Domino de Rhintorf rite tradidi, viro certe impigro, animique erga res communis foederis propensissimi, nec minoris ut mihi videtur probitatis quam industriae. Eidem alias imperitii literas, per quas mercator admodum opulentus Amstelodami in se provinciam recepit, triginta adhuc Thalerorum millia mihi quamprimum transmittendi. Eodem tempore

his Majesty has farther given me in charge, to let your Highness know, that whatever remains should be paid without fail.

All this matter was finished before Mr. Sherwood's departure for England, whom I have however instructed with the best counsel I could, as well as with letters of recommendation to the Chief Ministers; though I am certain his Majesty's justice and truth will be more prevalent in this matter, than the most importunate solicitations or complaints.

In the mean while I shall use my utmost care and diligence, for the service of your Highness, and it will be your part, not to be wanting either to his Majesty, or your own honour and safety which are all concerned in this conjuncture. I also beg your Highness not to be discouraged by your enemies, not to distrust your old friends, nor despair of raising new ones.

*Time for the better changes
many things.*

In the mean time, I wish your Highness health and victory,

et magnam flammæ molem Ostendat nuper ex naufragio revulsam, augendis C. V. rationibus impendere, inter regia jussa habeo; præcipuumque à sacrâ suâ Regia Majestate mandatum, ut C. V. persuasam penitus et securam velim, quod reliqui est sine ullâ ambage solutum iri.

Haec omnia excussa et absoluta fuisse advertendum est ante appulsum Domini Sherwood, quem tamen in transitu saluberrimis quibus fas erat consiliis, et commendatoriis apud summos Regios Ministros literis monitum volui; etiamsi pro comperto habedim, Régis Domini mei justitiam insignem et fidem inviolatam plus querimoniis omnibus vel precibus maxime importunis in hac te valituras.

Ego interea curâ, opere, studio, et diligentia, nec desum nec defuturus sum; Celsitudini autem vestrae curae erit ne sacrae suae Regiae Majestati, ne sibi immet ipsi defuerit, ne propriae denique gloriae nec salutis, quas in hoc cardine rerum verti satis perspectum habere necesse est. Nec inter insurgentes hostes despondeat oro, nec veteribus amicis ad minimum diffidat, nec desperet de novis excitandis.

*Multa dies variusque labor
mutabilis aevi
Detulit in melius.*

Valeat interea C. V. et vincendo pergat; inter autem adiectissimos

story, and desire you will e- *dictissimos ejusque rerum studio-*
 ver esteem me, *sissimos de jure semper aestimet,*

C. V.

SIR,

observantissimum.

Your Highness's most obedient

humble servant.

To Mr. * Godolphin.

SIR, *Brussels, Apr. 1. N. S. 1666.*

AMONG my few debts, I could not have imagined myself likely to have any in *Spain*, till my late intelligence from *England*, and observation of the winds, persuaded me to it, as my good conscience does, to endeavour at the satisfaction of them before it be called for. After I have welcomed you into the climate with the same cheer and kindness the sun I know will do, you must receive my acknowledgment of two letters I had from you before you left *English* ground: but withal, some reproach that you could mingle the expressions of your kindness with that idle business of accompts, in which you are too just, as those, you had to deal with for my + patent fees, were, I think, too merciful, at least, much more so than I expected. Your letter from *Sheen* was more obliging, in making me believe you met any thing, in that corner, you could be entertained or pleased with; but if it were so, I fear you had your revenge: for my wife tells me, to my face, in her letter upon that occasion, that she shall love you whilst she lives for the kindness of that visit. What effect this might have upon an absent man in *Spanish*

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F

air,

* Afterwards Sir William Godolphin.

† For Baronet.

air, I know not ; but from this more temperate climate, I will assure you, that I am content to share with you the kindness of my best friends, which is all the quarrel I will raise at this distance, upon this occasion,

The last courier from *Spain* renewed our mourning at this Court, for the news of * Sir R. F. and Sir R. S.'s arrival at *Madrid*, without success in the *Portugal* truce ; which, being the hinge of all affairs at this time in *Christendom*, is (I hope) reserved for your more happy and more dexterous management. I find it agreed from *France*, with other parts, that nothing will have good issue in *Portugal* without the style of *King* ; and methinks the *Spaniards* height should rather aim at giving him *King* without *Kingdom*, than amuse about *Kingdom* without *King*. The best swords, and guns, and treasures, will have ever the power of reviving those controversies : in the mean time, pray endeavour to make them sensible, that the possession of *Flanders* is worth the reversion of *Portugal* ; and that they could never have such a conjuncture to lay by the *Puntiglio* as during their King's minority, who, when grown major, may avow and disavow what he pleases of his mother's regency.

It is pleasant in me to be giving you arguments ; but we are so full of it here, as you must excuse all impertinencies in this matter. In short, this is a business must of necessity be done, and therefore, for God's sake, dispatch it : and there is an end of my wise counsels.

From the *Marquis* here you must look for no great assistance in this one particular ; his birth and interest make it too ticklish a string for him to touch : in all others assure yourself I have taken a care to press him, and his Excellency the pains to endeavour all he can possibly, for preparing whatever may honour
your

• Sir Richard Fanshawe.

your reception, or facilitate your negotiation; and being a person that has run through all the business of that monarchy, and allied to almost all the persons of the council, I will be confident his offices will not be useless to you, as I hope some of our countrymen's will that preceded them. When you farther desire any from his Excellency here, upon the notice, I doubt not to furnish you.

I find by him, the last promotion of counsellors was not made, either by the Duke of *Medina's* or *Castriglio's* faction or authority, but chiefly by the Queen's Confessor, and on purpose to strengthen a party, dependent wholly upon her Majesty.

The Duke of *Albuquerque* you will find a man of more warmth than depth, and no great leader in council or business: *Montalto* is a man of more head, has more of the Queen's ear, and runs the fortune of growing one day into the greatest ministry; he is at present embroiled with the Duke of *Medina*; but if my Lord *Sandwich* would reconcile those two strings, and tune them together, he would find it easy to concert his own music there.

D' Ayala is *Herb John, Aitona* considered; and upon his march, which he may succeed well in, if he contents himself to make it by slow and even steps. *Pignoranda* would make a third party, is learned and called wise, but wants birth and vigour to support more greatness than he has. The Confessor is *honeste homme*, has lived, till now, retired from business, but made a great leap into it on the sudden. *Castriglio* and *Caracena* are so far known, as I need say nothing of what you are to hope or fear from them in your negotiation. Pray, present my humble service to my Lord Ambassador, and give him this little light, if you think 'tis worth it. The French men's looks towards us are fair, but I doubt their meaning; at the same time they offer at accommodation, they write
into

44 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

into *Holland*, pressing, all that is possible, the State's agreement with *Munster*, that their forces may be all free to fall upon *England*, and encourage the speedy setting out of their fleet, with assurance of their own being ready to join. They mustered fifteen thousand men, but ten days hence, near this frontier in great bravery, where King, Queen, and all the Court appeared. The *French* King resolves to march about the first of *May*, in the head of them, towards *Sedan*, upon pretence to force the Duke of *Lorrain* to disarm, or, at least, to know the cause of this present arming. In the mean time, the *Hugonots* of *Poitou* have put in three requests to the King, demanding liberty of their churches, according to the edicts of *Nantes*, and mingling some strains very bold, with others very humble.

The Prince of *Munster* hath Envoys from six of his neighbour Princes now with him, treating about the peace and security of the *Westphalian* circle, and an accommodation with *Holland*; all which gives jealousy of his honour and constancy.

The Elector of *Brandenburg* hath put in a memorial to the States, recommending passionately the interest of the Prince of *Orange*, which hath given some jealousy both to *Dutch* and *French*.

The Elector of *Collen* hath sent an Envoy to the *Hague*, who is there arrived, to demand the restitution of *Rhinberg*.

The Prince of *Orange's* sister's marriage is concluded with the Duke of *Simmeren*; for the consummation of it, the Princess Dowager and Prince of *Orange* intend suddenly for *Cleve*. Captain *Benner* and Sir *John Sayers*, with several others, are arrived at *Ostend* in the King's yacht for Madamoiselle *Bevarwaert's* transportation. The Captain of the vessel approaching the town, and pretending to take a ship belonging to that port, and entering there for a *Hollander*,
pursued

purfued and fired at her, till a gunner from the caſtle, not knowing what veſſel ours was, gave her one gun, but ſo unluckily, that it ſtruck through the cabbin, killed the gunner, and ſhot off the Captain's leg. I have ſent letters from the Marquis to the Governor at *Oſtend*, to make all excuſes and reparations. I have juſt now diſpatched an expreſs to the *Hague*, to deſire Madamoifelle *Bevarwaert*'s command where and when I ſhall attend her paſſage, which my Lord *Arlington* hath adviſed to make by *Antwerp*, and to leave all her money there in my hands, which, with a hundred and fifty thouſand dollars I ſhall meet there about the ſame time for *Munſter*, will make me ſo rich, that I think I had beſt take the good time, and run away to you into *Spain*; but I ſhall never reckon upon your protection, longer than I have ſome honeſty mingled with my kindneſs for you; and while I have the leaſt of one, you may reckon upon the moſt of the other that can be from,

SIR,

your moſt affectionate friend,
and moſt faithful ſervant.

To the Biſhop of Munſter.

Bruffels, Apr. 27.

SIR, N. S. 1666.

THE care your Highneſs was pleaſed to expreſs for the ſafety of my journey, makes me believe you will be pleaſed to hear how ſoon and happily I arrived at *Bruffels*, after many difficulties.

By

Episcopo Monasterii.

Bruxellis, Apr. 27. S. N.

Ceſſiffime Domine, 1666.

SUMMA iſta ſollicitudo et benevolentia quas C. V. in ſecuritate itineri meo præſtandâ demonſtravit, me perſuaſum habent, non ingratum fore ſi eam certiorẽ velim quàm brevi et feliciter inter multa incommoda et difficultates, *Bruxellas* appulerim.

Ego

By a letter yesterday I recommended to his Majesty the affairs of your Highness, as I promised to do, and hope my care will not be in vain: but since I left *Munster*, I am informed that Monsieur *Colbert* the French Minister would arrive in a little time to buy the troops that your Highness designs to dismiss, and to put them into the French service. Now I cannot but inform your Highness, how unjust, how false, and how ungrateful it will appear, for those troops, that were raised and armed by the King my master's money, to enter into the service of a foreign Prince, now at open enmity with us, by which means they become rebels rather than enemies. And indeed I find all the Ministers of *Munster* are extremely averse from this counsel.

For since his Excellency the Marquis of *Castel Rodrigo* designs to draw into the Spanish service all who are subjects of his Catholic Majesty, with two or three regiments besides; and for that end designs to send Monsieur *D—* to *Munster*: I think it more for the honour and advantage of the King my master, that these forces be placed in the service of a Prince who has been long our friend and confederate; and therefore I desire your Highness to

give

Ego jam per hesternas literas operam et studium meum impendi istis officiis C. V. erga sacram suam Regiam Majestatem exsolvendis, quae pollicitus sum, nec vana fore confido. Accepi autem ex quo Monasterio discessi, Dominum Colbert ministrum Gallicum brevi appulsurum ad mercandas copias quas dimissura est C. V. easque in stipendia Regis Gallici attrahendas. Non possum C. V. celare quam iniquum, infidum, et ingratum videbitur, copias pecuniâ Regis domini mei constatas et instructas, in partes et stipendia transire Regis alieni, jamque palam nobis inimici, et contra nos armati; nec isto modo dici potest, ut novum bellum, sed genus quoddam rebellionis, instituant; à quo consilio ego omnes, quos conveni Monasterii officiales expertus sum admodum alienos.

Cum autem excellentia sua Dominus Marchio de Castel Rodrigo in votis habeat subditos omnes Catholicae Majestatis in sua stipendia retrahere, duasque insuper vel tres alteras legiones; et in hunc finem statuerit Dominum D— Monasterium usque ablegare: ego multo magis et honori et utilitati Regis domini mei conducturum aestimo, si copiae istae in auspicia et stipendia Regis nobis jam temporis confoederati et amiciissimi transeant. Ideoque supplico C. V. ut huic negotiationi

give a hand to this negotiation, which I promise shall be neither unknown nor unwelcome to the King my master.

I am,

SIR,

Your Highness's &c.

tioni facilitandae (quicquid in se erit) utrasque manus praebeat, idque officium Regi domino meo nec ignotum nec ingratum fore spondeo.

C. V. &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR,

Brussels, May 10. N.S. 1666.

After so long and so hard a journey, I thought you would be glad to know I was well again in my former station, and what was the occasion of my leaving it so suddenly and so privately, that I could not acquaint any of my friends with it before I went, which now I am at liberty to entertain you with.

This winter has passed with much noise, made by the Bishop of *Munster* in his enterprize against *Holland*, with some attempts, but little success. The fault he has laid in some degree upon the Marquis here, for refusing to suffer the Duke of *Bornoville* to go and command his troops, which he durst not consent to, for fear of giving too much offence to the *French* and *Dutch*, at a time when the *Spaniards* here are in ill condition for a quarrel: but the Bishop's chief complaints have been, want of those sums of money stipulated by his Majesty to be furnished him both before and after his taking the field. Our excuses upon the loss of the ships with tin before *Ostend*, though they may serve to keep us in countenance, yet they will not pay forces in the field, which he has often threatened these three months past must break up, without speedy supplies. In the mean time his neighbouring Princes of the *Empire*, especially the Electors of *Mentz* and *Brandenburg*, with the Duke of *Nieuburg*, seeing a flame broke

broke out, which must draw foreign armies into the *Empire*, both *French* and *Dutch*, have used first all offices they could to prevail with the Bishop, to make his peace with *Holland*, engaged the *Emperor* himself in the same endeavours, and finding him steady to his treaty with the King, at last the Duke of *Brandenburg* drew his forces into the field, resolved to compell him by joining with the *Dutch*, if he could not persuade him to make the peace; and the Duke of *Nieuburg* prepared to second him in this design. The *French* were not wanting in their offices to the same ends; so that a private agreement was made about the beginning of this month, for the *French*, *Dutch*, and *Munster* Envoys to meet at *Cleve*, and there treat the peace, under the mediation of the Elector of *Brandenburg*.

As soon as the King received this alarm, he sent an express immediately to command me away the instant I received it, with a commission to the Bishop of *Munster*, and with instructions to do all I could possibly to hinder the peace, and with bills of exchange to revive his payments, which had been long intermitted, and promise of more to be remitted every post, which I was to order into his agent's hands here, in my absence.

I went accordingly, acquainting none with my going but the Marquis here, who gave me twenty of his own guards, with command to follow absolutely all orders I should give them. I was to pass through a great deal of the *Spanish* country, much infested with *Dutch* parties, more of the Duke of *Nieuburg*'s, and more yet of the *Brandenburgers*, who I know were all enemies to the affair I went upon, and therefore thought it best to pass for a *Spanish* Envoy, sent from the Marquis *Castel Rodrigo* to the *Emperor*, and charged my small guard, and the Cornet that commanded them, to keep true to this note. And some of my servants,

as well as most of the guards, speaking *Spanish*, I spoke nothing else, unless in private, or when I was forced out of it by some incident.

In this guise I came to *Dusseldorp*, where the Duke of *Nieuburg* happened to be; (contrary to what I had been informed): as soon as I was in my inn, one of his officers came to know who I was, and whither I was going; and would not be satisfied by the common answer from my servants and guards, but would receive it from me: when he came up, though with much civility, yet he pressed me so far, that I found there was no feigning with him, and so bid him tell the Duke, that within an hour I would come and give him an account both of myself and my journey. I remembered the great kindness that had ever interceded between his Majesty and this Prince; and, though I went upon an errand that I knew was disagreeable to him, yet I thought he would be less likely to cross me, if I acquainted him frankly with it, than if I disguised scurvily, as I was likely to do, being the thing of the world I could do the most uneasily.

I had a letter of credence which I brought out of *England* at my first coming over for this Prince; but passing another way to *Munster*, I had not used it, and so resolved to do it now. I did so, gave it him, told him my errand; how much his Majesty reckoned upon his friendship, and desired his good offices to the Bishop of *Munster* in the design I went upon, of keeping him firm to his treaties with the King my master.

This Duke is, in my opinion, the finest Gentleman of any *German* I have seen, and deserves much better fortune than he is in; being small, very much broken, and charged with a very numerous issue; he seems about fifty years old, tall, lean, very good mien, but more like an *Italian* than a *German*: all he says is civil, well bred, *boneste*, plain, easy, and has an air of truth and honour. He made great professions of kindness

and respect to the King, was sorry he could not serve him in this affair; his engagements were already taken with the Emperor and his neighbour Princes for making the *Munster* peace, and by that means keeping war out of the Empire. He doubted I could not serve his Majesty upon this errand neither; for he first believed I could not get safe to *Munster*, the ways being all full of *Dutch* and *Brandenburg* parties, who had notice of the King's intention to send away to the Bishop upon this occasion; and if I should arrive, he believed, however, I should find the peace signed before I came.

My answer was short, for I was very weary, that go I would, however I succeeded; that, for the danger of the journey, I knew no providing against it, but a very good guide who might lead me through ways the most unfrequented; that I would desire his Highness to give me one of his own guards to conduct me, because none would expect a person going upon my design, would have one in his livery for a guide; and I desired he would let me pass, as I had done hitherto in my journey, for a *Spanish* Envoy. The Duke, after some difficulties at first (which we turned into pleasantries) complied with me in all: I took my leave, and went away early next morning.

I never travelled a more savage country, over cruel hills, through many great and thick woods, stony and rapid streams, never hardly in any high way, and very few villages, till I came near *Dortmund*, a city of the *Empire*, and within a day's journey, or something more, of *Munster*. The night I came to *Dortmund* was so advanced when I arrived, that the gates were shut, and with all our eloquence, which was as moving as we could, we were not able to prevail to have them opened; they advised us to go to a village about a league distant, where they said we might have lodging. When we came there, we found it all taken up
with

with a troop of *Brandenburg* horse, so as the poor *Spanish* Envoy was fain to eat what he could get in a barn, and to sleep upon a heap of straw, and lay my head upon my page instead of a pillow. The best of it was, that he, understanding *Dutch*, heard one of the *Brandenburg* soldiers coming into the barn, to examine some of my guards about me and my journey, which, when he was satisfied of, he asked if he had heard nothing upon the way of an *English* Envoy that was expected; the fellow said, he was upon the way, and might be at *Dortmund* within a day or two, with which he was satisfied, and I slept as well as I could.

The next morning I went into *Dortmund*, and, hearing there that, for five or six leagues round, all was full of *Brandenburg* troops, I dispatched away a *German* Gentleman I had in my train, with a letter to the Bishop of *Munster*, to let him know the place and condition I was in, and desire he would send me guards immediately, and strong enough to convey me. The night following my messenger returned, and brought me word, that, by eight o'clock the morning after, a Commander of the Bishop's would come in sight of the town, at the head of twelve hundred horse, and desired I would come and join them so soon as they appeared. I did so, and after an easy march till four o'clock, I came to a castle of the Bishop's, where I was received by Lieutenant-General *Gorgas*, a *Scotsmen* in that service, who omitted nothing of honour or entertainment that could be given me. There was nothing here remarkable, but the most Episcopal way of drinking that could be invented. As soon as we came in the great hall, where stood many flaggons ready charged, the General called for wine to drink the King's health; they brought him a formal bell of silver gilt, that might hold about two quarts or more; he took it empty, pulled out the clapper, and gave it me, who he intended to drink to, then had the bell filled,

filled, drunk it off to his Majesty's health, then asked me for the clapper, put it in, turned down the bell, and rung it out, to shew he had play'd fair, and left nothing in it; took out the clapper, desired me to give it to whom I pleased, then gave his bell to be filled again, and brought it to me; I that never used to drink, and seldom would try, had commonly some Gentlemen with me that served for that purpose when it was necessary; and so I had the entertainment of seeing this health go current through about a dozen hands, with no more share in it than just what I pleased.

The next day after noon, about a league from *Munster*, the Bishop met me at the head of four thousand horse, and in appearance brave troops. Before his coach, that drove very fast, came a guard of a hundred *Hey Dukes* that he had brought from the last campaign in *Hungary*; they were in short coats and caps all of a brown colour, every man carrying a *sabre* by his side, a short pole-ax before him, and a skrewed gun hanging at his back by a leather belt that went cross his shoulder. In this posture they run almost full speed, and in excellent order, and were said to shoot two hundred yards with their skrewed gun, and a bullet of the bigness of a large pea, into the breadth of a dollar or crown piece. When the coach came within forty yards of me it stopped, I saw the Bishop and his General the Prince *d'Homburg* come out; upon which I alighted, so as to meet him between my horses and his coach: after compliments, he would have me go into his coach, and sit alone at the back end, reserving t'other to himself and his General. I excused it, saying, I came without character; but he replied, that his agent had writ him word I brought a commission, which stiled me *Oratorem nostrum*, (as was true) and that he knew what was due to that style from a great King. I never was nice in taking any honour that was offered to the King's character, and so easily took this:

this: but from it, and a reception so extraordinary, began immediately to make an ill presage of my business, and to think of the *Spanish* proverb,

*Quien te base mas corte que no suele hazer
Ote ha d'enganner ote ha menester.*

And with these thoughts, and in this posture, I entered *Munster*, and was conducted by the Bishop to a lodging prepared for me in one of the *Canon's* houses.

The Bishop would have left me immediately after he brought me to my chamber; but I told him I could not let him go without asking an hour of audience that very evening. He would have excused it upon respect and weariness, and much compliment; but I persisted in it, unless he would chuse to sit down where we were, and enter upon affairs without ceremony. He was at last contented; and I said all I could towards my end of keeping him to the faith of his treaty with the King, to the pursuit of the war till both consented to the peace, and to the expectations of the money that was due; he answered me, with the necessities that had forced him to treat, from the failing of his payments, the violences of his neighbour Princes, and the last instances of the *Emperor*; but that he would, upon my coming, dispatch one immediately to *Cleve*, to command his Ministers to make a stop in their treaty till they received farther orders, which I should be master of.

I went to supper after he left me, but was told enough privately to spoil it before I sat down, which was, that the treaty was signed at *Cleve*; though I took no notice of it, because I knew, if it were so, being angry would hurt no body but my master or myself.

Next

Next day the Bishop made a mighty feast among all his chief Officers, where we sat for four hours, and in bravery I drank fair like all the rest; and observed that my *Spanish* Cornet, and I that never used it, yet came off in better order than any of the company. I was very sick after I came to my lodging; but he got a horseback on purpose to shew himself about the town, while the rest of the company were out of sight all the afternoon. The day after was agreed to give me an account of the affair of *Cleve*; upon the return of the Bishop's express after my arrival, and at an audience in the evening, with great pretence of trouble and grief, he confessed the treaty was signed, and so past remedy, and that it had been so before his express arrived, though much against his expectation, as he professed, I am sure it was not against mine; for I left *Brussels* in the belief that I should certainly find all concluded, which made my journey much harder than it could have been with any hopes of succeeding.

I told him, when I found all ended, and no hopes of retrieving it, that I would be gone within a day or two, and would take my leave of him that night, being not well, and needing some rest before I began my journey. He said and did all that could be to persuade my stay till I had represented his reasons to the King, and received an answer: and I found his design was to keep me as long as he could, while his agent at *Brussels* received bills of exchange from *England* that were ordered him in my absence; so that I knew not how much every day's stay would cost the King, and that no other service was to be done his Majesty in this affair, besides saving as much of his money as I could. The Bishop, finding me immovable, advised me however in pretended kindness to go by *Collen*, which, though four or five days about, would be the only way that was left for me with any safety,

the

the *Dutch* and *Brandenburghers* having posted themselves on purpose to attend my return upon all the other roads; and he offered me Colonel *Ossory*, an *Irish* Gentleman in his service, to conduct me: I seemed to accept all, and to be obliged by his care, but wished myself well out of it, and took my leave, though he pretended to see me again next day.

I went home, and instead of going to bed, as I gave out, I laid my journey so as to be on horseback next morning between three and four o'clock upon *Good-Friday*, which I thought might help me to make my journey less suspected: I fee'd the officer that opened the gates for me, to keep them shut two hours longer than usual that morning, (which I hear was performed) and so committed myself to the conduct of the Duke of *Nieuburg's* guide, to lead me the shortest way he could into some place belonging to his master. I rode hard, and without any stop, to a village eight leagues from *Munster*, and just upon the borders of the *Brandenburg* country: there I baited, and pretended to go to bed and stay all night; but in an hour's time, having got fresh horses ready for four men that I pretended to send before me, I put on a cassaque of one of the Marquis's guards, and with my page, the Duke of *Nieuburg's* guard, and Colonel *Majette*, a *Flemish* officer in the *Munster* service, I took horse at the back door of my inn, while the rest of my company thought me a-bed, and resolved to ride as far as I could the rest of that day, leaving my steward to follow me the next, with the rest of my train and guards.

I rode till eight at night through the wildest country, and most unfrequented ways that ever I saw, but being then quite spent, and ready to fall from my horse, I was forced to stop and lay me down upon the ground till my guard went to a peasant's house in sight, to find if there were any lodging for me; he brought me word there were none, nor any provisions in the house,

house, nor could find any thing but a little bottle of *juniper* water, which is the common cordial in that country: I drank a good deal, and with it found my spirits so revived, that I resolved to venture upon the three leagues that remained of my journey, so as to get into the territories of *Nieuburg*, having passed all the way since I left my train through those of *Brandenburg*, whose engagements with the *Dutch* left me no safety while I was there. About midnight I came to my lodging, which was so miserable that I lay upon straw, got on horseback by break of day, and to *Dusseldorp* by noon; where being able to ride no farther I went to bed for an hour, sent to make my excuses to the Duke of *Nieuburg* upon my haste and weariness, and to borrow his coach to carry me to *Ruremond*, which was a long day's journey. This Prince sent me his coach, and his compliments, with all the civility in the world. I went away that afternoon, got to *Ruremond* the next, and from thence hither, not without great danger of the *Dutch* parties, even in the *Spanish* country: and so have ended the hardest journey that ever I made in my life, or ever shall; for such another I do not think I could ever bear, with a body no stronger than mine.

At my return I have had the fortune to stop several bills of exchange that would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the Bishop's agent here, and to forbid the payment of the rest he received in my absence, which, though accepted by the merchants at *Antwerp*, yet were not satisfied, the time having not expired at which they were payable. And this service to the King is all the satisfaction I have by this adventure, which has ended the whole affair of *Munster* that has of late made so much noise, and raised so much expectation in the world. I am,

SIR,

Your's &c.

To

To the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord, Brussels, May 14. N. S. 1666.

THough my late *Munster* journey has given your Grace some ease by my intermissions, and me many troubles; yet I met none of which I was more sensible, than what I received at my return by the news of your Grace's indisposition. But I comforted myself first, that your health is too considerable to fall, though it may suffer, under common accidents; and since, with the certainty given me of its recovery; in which I give your Grace, what I receive by it myself, as much joy, I am sure, as if I felt never so great an addition to my own; since mankind is esteemed so great a self-lover, that these are the highest expressions will be allowed us.

I have desired my Lord *Arlington* to give your Grace, in my own letters to his Lordship, the account of my whole transaction, which I take no great pleasure in repeating, and should very difficultly at once give relations so particularly, as what I made whilst the objects, their dispositions and motions, were in my eye. The length of them may make them too much trouble to your Grace, of which my father or brother I know would be glad to ease you, and give the minute of a draught at large.

I so concerted with the Bishop whilst I was there, and with the Marquis here at my return, that we expect here between five or six thousand of his best troops, upon his Excellency's paying fifty thousand pattacons, and obliging himself to restore them upon repayment of the like sum whenever the Bishop shall have need of them; which is a better disposal of forces raised by his Majesty's money, than if they had been drawn over into the *French* service, according to their prospect, and Monsieur *Colbert's* endeavour, who was sent to

Munster on purpose to *marchand* them. Whether the Duke of *Nituburg*, who seems wholly *French*, will make any difficulty in giving them passage through his country, I know not; nor whether the light be true which was lately given me of a war like to succeed in those parts between that Duke and the Marquis of *Brandenburg*, which would in this conjuncture mingle the cards after the strangest manner imaginable.

Though we hear much of our fleet's being at sea, yet we talk more here of the *Dutch* slowness, who have not yet men for above fifty ships, and those so disheartened and cold in the service, that I fear nothing but their eluding our great preparations by keeping close in their harbours, till for want of victuals we may be forced to return to ours.

My Lord *Carlingsford* is now at *Prague*, uncertain upon his late letters from Court, whether he advances this way, or returns to the *Emperor*, whither he hath dispatched his son, and where we have some ground of complaint, seeing the *Emperor's* name among all the other Princes in the guaranty of the *Munster* peace. The endeavour of that Court had been much better employed in compassing the peace with *Portugal*, which hangs yet in great uncertainties, not to say difficulties: neither of which there is the least of in my being with most hearty and unfeigned passion,

My Lord,

Your's, &c.

To my Lord Lisle.

My Lord,

Brussels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I received lately the honour of one from your Lordship, and by it the satisfaction of finding your health and good humour continue, as well as my share in

in your favour and memory which I am much concerned in. I assure your Lordship, in the midst of a town and employment entertaining enough, and a life not uneasy, my imaginations run very often over the pleasures of the air, and the earth, and the water, but much more of the conversation, at *Sheen*; and make me believe, that, if my life wears not out too soon, I may end it in a corner there, though your Lordship will leave it I know in time for some of those greater and nobler houses that attend you. I am obliged by the very pleasing relations you give from those softer scenes, in return of which, such as I can make you from those of business, or war, or tumult, must, I know, yield rougher entertainment; and therefore I have sent them in a paper, which shall pass rather for a Gazette than a letter; and shall content myself only to tell your Lordship, that it is hardly to be imagined the change which about three weeks past have made in the face of *Holland's* affairs, which are now esteemed here to be upon the point of breaking into much such a confusion as we saw in *England* about 1659: nor can any thing almost be added in these parts to the reputation of his Majesties arms and affairs; so far, that it grows a credit to be an *English* man; and not only here, but in *Amsterdam* itself. I am told my Lord *Stafford*, who went lately thither about a process, has more hats and legs than the *Burgomaster* of the town. I will not encrease your Lordship's trouble by any enlarging upon this subject, having offered you a much longer in the enclosed. I wish I could give you some of another kind, by sending you a little *Spanish* Mistress from hence, whose eyes might spoil your walks, and burn up all the green meadows at *Sheen*, and find other ways of destroying that repose your Lordship pretends alone to enjoy, in spite of the common fate of mankind. But however
your

60 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

your friends suffer by it, I wish it may last as long as it pleases you; I am sure the professions will do so of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

humble servant,

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Aug.—N. S. 1666.

I AM not to be forgiven, that endeavour by one trouble to make room for another, and solicit your Lordship this way, that my wife may have leave to solicit you in a matter wherein I can never resolve to do it myself. Your Lordship's friendship has left me little to desire or complain of, unless it be when I find my own fortune so disproportioned to my mind, in the resolutions I have of doing his Majesty all the honour, as well as all the service I can: but how ill they agree in this point (though I was ever rich while I was private, even beyond my desires) is a story I would rather any body should tell you than I: however, I should not bring my wife into this scene, but that I know she will ask nothing but my own, is a person not apt to be troublesome or importunate, and in all kinds the best part of,

My Lord,

Your's, &c.

Patri

Patri Gottenburg.

Domine, *Bruxellis, Dec. 26. S. N. 1666.*

RECTE et per manus dulcissimæ tuæ sororis accepi
*chirothecas elegantissimè consutas, et non minus po-
 litè contextas literas; per quas nec me elapsam memoriâ
 vestrâ, nec planè exutum benevolentia, et sentio et gaudeo.
 Utroque nomine me pulcherrimæ istæ indoli per totum ve-
 stram familiam diffusæ, potius quam ulli meo merito obli-
 gatum æstimo: habeo itaque et ago gratias quamplurimas;
 ut vero acceptiori quodam modo eas referre studeam, soro-
 rem optimam exoravi, quæ me (ut spero) officio et debito
 perfunctum brevi redditura est. Valeat interim reverentia
 vestra, studiis propositis auspiciatissimè incumbat, et ex vo-
 is procedat, meque semper teneat,*

Amicissimum, &c.

To Mr. Thynn.

SIR, *Brussels, Feb. 19. N. S. 1667.*

ABOUT two days since I received the favour of
 yours of the 16th past, and am sorry to be put
 upon the defence in an encounter so much to my ad-
 vantage: this had not arrived, if I could as easily
 have found the way of conveying my letters, as the
 dispositions of writing; for those I have always had
 about me since I knew your station and character, which
 I thought would help to bear me out in that attempt.
 The little acquaintance you are contented to own, I
 durst not reckon upon; because it was so much more
 than I deserved, and so much less than I desired: but
 am very glad, that may be allowed of among the ob-
 ligations we have to enter upon this commerce, though
 we

we need no other than our Master's service, which may on both sides be improved by the communication of what passes in our different scenes. I shall not engage in answering the compliments of your letter, though I should have much more justice on my side; but I am very ill furnished with that sort of ware: and the truth is, there is required so much skill in the right tempering, as well as the distribution of them, that I have always thought a man runs much hazard of losing more than he gains by them, which has made me ever averse, as well as incapable of the trade. It will be to more purpose to let you know the confidence we have here of our treaty with *Spain* being signed in all points to our satisfaction: but whether *Portugal* has or will accept their part in it, which is a truce of forty five years, I cannot yet resolve you; only this I am assured, that it is feared in the *French Court*, as well as hoped in ours.

The current news at *Antwerp*, as well as here, is of the *Dutch* merchant fleet from *Nantes* and *Rochel*, consisting of above a hundred sail under the convoy of six men of war, being fallen into a squadron of about twenty of our frigates, and few are said to have escaped: though this be doubted of none here, and the current letters from *Zealand*, as well as *Ostend*, made it probable; yet I suspend my confidence till the arrival of my *English* letters which are my *Gospel* in these cases. This coldness I know makes me lose many pleasures, but on the other side helps me to escape many disappointments, which light belief in the midst of so many light reports is subject to. The counsels or dispositions of a subordinate government as this is, are not worth troubling you with; but those in the Court here are in short what we wish them.

Those of the scene you are in deserve much more the inquiry; and I should be very glad to know them from so good a hand. My desires of serving you, can

I am sure, never be known from a better than my own, which can value itself to you by nothing else, but by telling I am,

S I R,

Your most obedient humble servant,

To the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

My Lord, Brussels, Mar. 4. N. S. 1667.

UPON the arrival of the last post from Spain, which brought us the unwelcome news of our treaty meeting an unhappy obstruction when it was at the very point of being perfected, Count *Marsyn* came to me, and after a preface of the great obligations he had to his Majesty, and the part he took in all our interests, as well as those of Spain, he fell into large discourses of the unhappy influences any interruption in the present treaty would have upon the affairs of both Crowns. He insisted much upon the hardship we put upon the *Spaniards*, in not consenting to leave the assistance of their enemies, which was all the advantage they expected from this treaty, instead of many they gave; that the great effect of it on both sides would thereby be lost, which was a return into mutual confidence, and at least the beginnings of a sincere friendship. That Spain having consented to what terms his Majesty thought reasonable, and Portugal not only refusing them, but entering at the same time into new dependencies upon France; he could not see what could oblige his Majesty to more than offering Portugal an equal peace, and becoming the warrant of it. That, at his Majesty's mediation, Spain had given them a style as usual and as honourable as what they desired; and, if they could resolve to give them that

that of *King* instead of *Crown*, they had then no need or use of his Majesty's mediation.

That whether we thought it our interest to have a peace or war in *Christendom*, we must begin by adjusting the business of *Portugal*; for if we desired the first, nothing could so much awe the *French* into quiet dispositions as that peace, and ours with *Holland*, to which that would likewise be an ingredient. If the latter and we had a mind rather to be seconds in a war of *Spain* with *France*, than principals in any, (which he thought was our true interest) nothing could make way for it, or enable *Spain* either to begin or sustain a war with *France*, but a peace with *Portugal*.

That he was confident, his Majesty's consenting to abandon them in case they refused to be included in our treaty, would force them immediately to accept it; that if not, and his Majesty should hereafter find it his interest to support them upon any great successes of *Spain* on that side, it would be easy to do it by connivance, by voluntary troops of his own subjects, or by a third hand, provided it went no farther than to keep *Spain* in the temper of yielding to the peace upon the terms his Majesty shall have judged reasonable: but for the present, without his Majesty's condescension to *Spain* in this point, he did not see how we could hope to effect our treaty, or to receive any fruits of it, where new occasions of diffidence and distaste would every day arise.

These were the chief of Count *Marfyn's* discourses, which he ended in desiring me that I would represent them to his Majesty's chief Ministers, and particularly to your Lordship from him, as the best present testimony he could give of his zeal to his Majesty's service and affairs, and which he would have done himself, but for fear it might look like intruding into matters and counsels he was not called to.

Besides

Besides this single point upon which this stop of our treaty is wholly grounded, I could not but represent to your Lordship some other circumstances which I imagine may have fallen in and helped to occasion it. I hear *France* has declared positively to the *Spaniards*, that they will immediately begin the war upon the *Spaniards* signing the treaty with us, and concluding the truce or peace with *Portugal* upon our mediation. To this end, and to shew the *Spaniards* they are in earnest, they busy themselves in making new levies, and drawing down many troops upon these frontiers, as well as all sorts of provisions, either for sieges or a camp. Upon this, I know not whether the *Spanish* councils may be so faint as not to dare give the *French* any pretence of a quarrel, but preserve their quiet rather by shrinking, than making a bold peace: or whether being composed of men that hardly ever looked out of *Spain*, or consider any thing but that continent, they may not upon foresight of war, either continuing with *Portugal*, or beginning in *Flanders*, rather chuse the first, where, being invaders, they may give themselves what breath they please, employ their own natives in the charges of honour and gain, and keep all the money spent in the war still within their country; whereas whatever comes into *Flanders* never returns, and is swallowed up by so many foreign troops, as the levies for that service must needs draw together. There may yet another and more prudent consideration arise with these, which may for the present delay the conclusion of our treaty; and that is, a desire to sign it rather before the winter than in the spring, and by that means both gain this summer to finish the fortification of their frontiers here, and the next winter to put their army in a better posture than they now are, or, I doubt, will suddenly be for the beginning of a campaign; and if this council should be taken by concert with us, that no breach of confidence

may grow between us by these delays, but the *French* only flattered by vain hopes of breaking our treaty, and thereby induced to let the *Spaniard* grow a year older in their peace with them, and slacken the war of *Portugal* into as low expence, and as little action or hazard as they can: I know nothing can be said against it, and should be apt to believe it, were the counsels there in the breast of any one person by last resort; whereas the divided interests and passions of the Counsellors cannot well suffer them to fall into such a resolution with hope of consent, and secret among them all.

This reflexion puts me upon another I hear from private hands, which may possibly have made some change in the course of our treaty; which is, that the whole management of affairs in the council of *Spain* seems at present to be devolved into the hands of Count *Castriglio*; the Confessor leaving it to him, and reserving to himself those things only which depend immediately upon the will of the Queen, and proposing to himself, during his ministry, (which cannot be long in regard of *Castriglio's* great age) to make way for his own, by growing older and practised in affairs, as well as the knowledge, obligations and dependences of persons. Now our treaty having never passed thro' *Castriglio's* hands, but conducted by Sir *Richard Fanshawe* wholly through the Duke of *Medina's*, (his declared enemy) and since by my Lord *Sandwich* chiefly through *Pignoranda's*, who is a third party; 'tis not improbable that a new hand may give it new form, either to add something of his own, or to shew his authority, or perhaps to pursue his former usual dispositions, which have been bent upon the war with *Portugal*, considering no part of the monarchy but *Spain* and the *Indies*; and I doubt, in particular, not very partial to our alliance or affairs.

Upon

Upon these intimations your Lordship will infinitely better judge than I, to what to attribute the present ill posture of our affairs in Spain, and how to retrieve it. I am ever,

My Lord,

your Lordship's most obedient,

and most humble servant.

To Don Estavan de Gamarra, the Spanish Ambassador at the Hague.

A Don Estavan de Gamarra.

Brussels, Mar. 29. N. S.

Brussels, 29 di Mar.

Sennor, S. N. 1667.

My Lord, 1667.

I DO not know how to acquit myself of the obligation my Lord Stafford has engaged me in to your Excellency, in begging your favour to procure a passport from the States for my wife. Your Excellency, I am sure, will excuse the care of a mother, in providing all that lay in her power for the safety of her children, and who to ease herself in it has (methinks) considered so little to whom she was troublesome. If I had been consulted upon this occasion, I should not have suffered one I am so nearly concerned in, to owe her safety to those who yet profess themselves enemies to the King my master; and much less to them that treat the wife of one of his Ministers like a merchant,

YO no se que modo me he de rescartar del obligo en que el Sennor Conde de Stafford me ha empennado a V. E. pidiendo su favor, en procurar un a pasaporte de los Estados de Hollanda para mi mujer. V. E. ha de perdonar el recato de una senora que tenia gana de proveyer todo lo que era possible a la seguridad de sus ninvios, y para descanfarse en este cuidado no se le dava nada (mi pareçe) a qui en cargava trabajo ni importunidad. Si yo huviera sido de la junta en esta occasion, no huviera permitido que una persona que me tocava tan, cerca pidiesse su seguridad de los que bazen hasta agora profession de enemigos al Rey mi Sennor; y mucho menos de los que havian de trattar a la mujer de un Ministro como a mercadera, mandando la cuenta de su bagaje; y por esto me huelgo mucho

chant, in demanding an account of her goods; and therefore am very glad the passport did not come till she was a shipboard in one of his Majesty's yachts, trusting, next to God Almighty, in the protection of his royal name. And though I have not yet heard how her journey has succeeded, I esteem myself as much obliged to your Excellency (whatever happens) for your favourable intentions upon this occasion to a man neither known nor deserving to be so, as if you had delivered me and my family from the greatest dangers.

God Almighty preserve your Excellency many years, and give me the occasions of serving you.

I am,

Yours, &c.

To my Lady Giffard, written in the name of Gabriel Possello.

Sennora mia, Amberes, 30. de Marco, S. N. 1667.

HE recebido con mucho gusto y no menorre conocimiento la guarnicion de spada que V. S. me ha becha la merced de enbiarme; la qual me ha sido, mucho mas entarecida con lo que me ha dicho despues el Sennor residente de la parte de V. S. que no era menester enternecer me en lagrimas ny oraciones (como estoy accostumbrado) con el sentimiento de tal obligo y que V. S. se estimara muy bien pagada con una carta Espagnola; porque a mi es tan facile de

mucho de que no ha venido el passaporte antes que se hay a embarcado la Sennora en un yacht del Rey my Sennor, confianço se (con Dios) en el amparo solo de su real nombre: aunque no se basta aora en que ha parado su viage. Todo via por lo que ay de las intenciones tan favorables de V. E. en esta ocasion a un hombre ny conocido ny que merece serlo, me tengo por obligado ad mismo punto, como se me huviera rescatado a mi y mi familia, de los mayores Peligros que se pueden topar en la mar o la tierra.

Dios guarde a V. E. muchos annos, y a mi me de las ocasiones de hazer las obras como la profession de lo que soy.

De V. E.

Muy humilde servidor.

mal

mal escribir como a V. S. de bien bazar. Y es verdad que se tiendra por pagado con una carta? Voto a tal que no le faltara carta aunque la pudiera en gallego. Pero digo me di veras es Santa V. S. O es hechizera? porque este se a buen seguro que ha becho milagro y con una guarnicion di plata mi ha berido hasta el coracon y aun mas fuerte que nolo pudiera bazer el mas bravo cavallero con una oja de toledo. Pero me dira V. S. que estamos en un siglo que no es cosa nueva el bazer milagros con la plata y que con esta sola se cumplen aora bazanas mayores que no con el valor y el acero en los siglos passados. Por vida mia que tient razon V. S. y por este milagro no lo han de cortar la capa. Pero no se como ha de escapar quando la dire que despues que he tocado esta guarnicion encantada, me van amenudo cayendo las canas, y en lugar de un viejo de setenta annos, me ballo moco de quinze, me siento calentar la sangre en las venas, y bolverse en triunfo el desterrado amor para asirse d'este miserable coracon bazer le pedacos en un punto. Desdichado de mi que he de tocar otra vez estas pisados tan trabajosas de la ciega mocedad como me basta una vida a padecer dos martyrios. Es possible que yo me sienta otra vez abrasor de las llamas amorozas, y que de ceniza tan fria salga de nuevo tan violento fuego. Que yo me voya otra vez resfriandomi con sopiros, y anegandome en las lagrimas y padeciendo las penas y los afanes que no me dexaran la vida si no fuera para sentir cada dia el dolor de la muerte. Ab Sennora de mi alma, quanto mal me ha becho conbazar me tanto bien, quanto mi ha de costar de veras, la burla que me han becho de ser enamorado di V. S. en mi viyez passada. Pero quan facilmente se remedia el mas trabajoso amar con uno poco d'esperanca. Yo me voy pensando que una Sennora tan complida no puede desviarse de la razon, y que me haviendo tan favorecido quando estava viejo, no puede saltar d'alguna piedad para mi descanso, estandome aora moco y lindo y enumerado. Pero si me li-sonjea mi deseo y me enganna mi esperanca lo que ay di bueno en esta occasion, es que me havienda su favor rendido en un

70 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

un instante de viejo moco, de la misma manera me parece que su crueldad me ha luego de buelver de moco viejo, y entonces me haore a burlar me tanto de su hermosura quanto se puede burlase aore V. S. de mi passion.

Bive V. S. mille annos y se vea enamorada como yo a setenta, que con esto no se ha de olvidar entonces de,

Su mas humilde cryado y galan,

Gabriel Poffello.

To Colonel Algernoon Sidney.

SIR, Brussels, Apr. 29. N. S. 1667.

I Received two days since one from you of the 12th past, with two inclosed, which I shall not fail to convey by the *English* packet that parts this evening, and with the same assurance that usually attends my letters; so that I think you may reckon upon their safety in those hands to which they are addressed. Your present abode was no secret to me, before I knew it from your own hand: that information having been given me about two or three months since by some *English* Gentlemen, who passed from *Italy* through *Germany* and these parts into *England*, where I cannot think they made a greater secret of it upon occasion, than they had done here.

I am sorry your dispositions or your fortunes have drawn you so far out of the reach of your friends services, and almost correspondence; in which I doubt the difficulties may shortly increase, at least this way: for we are here at present in little hopes to see next month end, without the advance of a *French* army into these Provinces.

I had letters very lately from *Pitworth*, and my wife some as fresh from *Penshurst*, which left health

in both those places; and will, thereby, I suppose, furnish you with news not unwelcome from,

SIR,

Your most humble servant.

To Monsieur Gourville.

A Monsieur Gourville.

Brussels, May 2.

De Bruxelles, May 2.

SIR, N. S. 1667.

Monsieur, S. N. 1667.

YOU ask me whether we have a mind in earnest for a peace, and I ask you, whether you have a mind in earnest for a war: for as yet we are no better informed of the designs and marches of the French troops, than we were at your departure from Brussels. I begin to think that King and his Ministers are mortal like other people, and that their affairs are managed with as little concert as those of their neighbours. For I believe, as to what concerns this country, the critical minute is past, and that the French will find here a braver defence than they pretend to believe. However it is certain, if they had begun by marching rather than menacing about three weeks ago, the business on this side had been past remedy. In short, I as little comprehend the French proceedings at present, as those of the Spaniards a while ago,

nor

VOUS me demandez si nous voulons tout-de-bon la paix; Et moi, je vous demande si vous voulez tout-de-bon la guerre; car jusqu'icy nous n'en savons pas plus sur vos desseins Et la marche des troupes Françoises, que nous en savons à votre départ de Bruxelles. Je commence à croire que ce Roy & ses Ministres, sont mortels comme le reste des hommes, Et que leurs affaires sont maniées avec aussi peu de concert que celles de leurs voisins; car je croy, que pour ce qui est de ce pais icy, l'heure de berger est passée pour eux, Et qu'ils y trouveront une résistance plus opiniâtre, Et plus rebutante qu'ils ne s'imaginent: mais il est constant, que si au lieu de menacer, ils eussent commencé à marcher il y a trois semaines, l'affaire étoit sans ressource de ce côté icy. Enfin je les comprends aussi peu dans leur conduite & à présent, que je comprenois autrefois les Espagnols dans la leur; Et je ne prévois pas comment ils pourront

nor where they can find their account in this enterprise which begins to awaken and alarm all *Christendom*.

For ourselves, my real opinion is, that our intentions for the peace are very sincere, and cannot fail, if the other parties bring along with them the same dispositions; and if I were as much concerned therein, as you perhaps may be, I would regulate my affairs accordingly for the future.

I thank you for your account of what passes in your parts; but I am very little satisfied with the Queen of Spain's letter, whereof a copy has been delivered at the same time to the States by Monsieur D'Estrades. I think the form is faulty, as well as the substance; and that if your soldiers be at present no better than your Secretaries, affairs will hardly succeed as they imagine.

By the last ordinary from Spain, it appears that they dream no more of war there than they do of fire, at least they conceal from our Ambassador any advices they may have received of it from hence: but our treaty of commerce was yet once again upon the point of being signed. The Spaniards make no preparati-

ons

pourront trouver leur conte dans la poursuite d'une entreprise, qui va reveiller & même choquer toute la Chrétienté.

A nôtre egard, mon sentiment, que je croy veritable, & que je vous communique sans disguisement, est, que nos intentions pour la paix sont fort sinceres, & qu'elle ne scauroit manquer de se faire, si les autres parties y apportent les memes dispositions; j'ajoute, que si j'étois interesse autant que j'entrevois que vous pouvez l'être, je reglerois mes affaires conformément aux conjunctures.

Je vous rends graces de ce que vous me mandez ce qui se passe en vous quartiers; mais je suis fort peu satisfait de la lettre écrite à la Reyne d'Espagne, dont la copie a été donnée en même tems aux Etats par Monsieur d'Estrades. Il me semble qu'il y a du défaut dans la maniere aussi bien que dans le fond de la chose même; & que si pour cette fois vos Capitaines n'en savent plus que vos Secretaires, les affaires n'iront pas le train qu'on a pensé.

Par ce dernier ordinaire d'Espagne, ils ne paroissent non plus songer à la guerre qu'au feu; au bien ils taisent à notre Ambassadeur les avis qu'il pourroit avoir reçus deçà; mais notre traité de commerce étoit encore une fois sur le point d'être signé. Ils ne font point de preparatifs contre le Portugal pour cette campagne; & par là ils sem-

blent

ons against *Portugal* this campaign, and therefore seem to think of being on that side upon the defensive, or else of an accomodation; though they are well enough informed of the particulars of an accord concluded between *France* and *Portugal*.

Nothing perplexes me more than to find a way of writing often to *Breda*, and you will not send me your address. I resign up this to my fortune, but since yours is always better than mine, it may happen upon that account that you may never receive it. As happy as you are, I advise you to look to your affairs at *Breda*; for in a few days I resolve to go and plunder your house at *Brussels*, and get satisfaction for my great orange-tree upon your little ones. I do not pretend it shall be open war; however the *Hollanders* will tell you that we *English* are D— and all at reprisals.

I am,

SIR,

Yours

Je suis, &c.

To My Lord St. Albans.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 13. N. S. 1667.

SINCE my acknowledgements of the honour I received some time since from your Lordship, I have had nothing to give me countenance in offering

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blent songer seulement ou à se tenir de ce côté là sur la défensive, ou bien à entendre à un accommodement; quoiqu'ils sachent bien le detail de l'accord conclu entre la France & le Portugal.

Il n'y a rien qui m'embarasse plus que de trouver le moyens d'écrire souvent à *Breda*; & vous ne m'envoyez point aussi votre adresse. J'abandonne cellecy à mon étoile; mais comme la votre l'emporte toujours sur la mienne, il pourra bien arriver qu'elle manquera sa route. Quelque heureux que vous soyez, je vous conseille pourtant de bien faire vos affaires à *Breda*, car dans peu de jours j'iray piller votre maison à *Brusselles*, & vanger mon grand aranger sur vos petits. Ce ne sera pas guerre déclarée; mais les *Hollandois* vous diront que nous faisons le diable à quatre en matiere de represailles.

74 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

any new trouble; and indeed the party is so unequal in regard of our stations at this time of *Paris* and *Brussels*, as well as all other circumstances, that no commerce can pass without very great presumption on my side, and as great condescension on your Lordship's; for we are so amazed with the numbers and bravery of the *French* preparations to invade this country, that we can hardly lift up our eyes against the rising of this sun, that is said, intends to burn up all before it: yet, not to flatter you, though men's eyes are weak at first sight, when they have gazed a while I believe they will find their *bands*, and try to defend themselves against *gold*, as well as against *iron*; and perhaps the stomach they have conceived at being treated with so little ceremony as to be invaded without any declaration of war, to have the Duchy of *Brabant* not esteemed worth the demanding, nor any colours given to the justice of the invasion, will make the defence sharper than is expected, as it has done the voluntary contributions larger than was imagined.

This makes all *Friars* already despair of praying away the war, and begin to look like other worldly men; and the very *Nuns* fear they may be forced to work too, before the business ends: in short, all prepare for a warm summer, only the *Spanish Duennas* cannot think so ill of a King that married an *Infanta*, and will never leave wondering that *Un rey qui tiene que comer en su casa, y de regalarse tambien*, should resolve to give himself and them so much trouble for nothing. Our poor *Nuns* at *Louvain* have more faith, and not less fears, and therefore the reverend mother hath sent to desire me to recommend them to your Lordship's favour, and to beg of you to get them a protection from thence, in case the scholars and learned there should not find arguments to defend their town against the *French*, who, I can assure your Lordship, will not lose much by the bargain, as far as I see of that nunnery,

nery, nuns and all; for it seems, by their faces, as well as their buildings, to be an ancient foundation, and gone much to decay.

Now they have put me upon desiring passports, my wife will needs have me recommend her to your Lordship for another for herself and servants, and baggage, to go over into *England*; and if she shall find it convenient, to pass as far as *Calais*, and embark there, because she is no lover of the sea. Upon the first of these requests your Lordship has occasion to merit very much; but by the second, to deal freely, I know not what you will gain, besides the obligations of a person who is already all that can be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most humble,

and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

My Lord, Brussels, May 21. N. S. 1667.

I know not by what conveyance, nor by what delays, the honour your Excellency intended me so long since from aboard the frigate, came yesterday to my hands, and made my acknowledgements later than they ought to have been. I am sorry you agreed so ill with the sea, since that is the *Dutch* men's element, with whom we hope you will agree so well; but if you had the faculty of uttering your heart in the seamen's sense, as well as you had of uttering your thoughts; I am to rejoice with you upon the good health you must needs have brought ashore, and to believe that the temper and constitution of your body, is as sound and as good as that of your mind. Since my last to my Lord *Holles*, our Ordinary from *Spain* arrived; by which Mr. *Godolphin*

Godolphin assures me, that I may expect the news of our treaty at *Madrid* being signed by the next, nothing remaining at the date of his letter besides only the examination of the phrase in *Latin*, which was referred to the *Inquisidor General* and Count *Pignoranda*; after whose sentence upon it, nothing was in sight that could stop the immediate signing and sealing.

Mr. *Godolphin* assures me, all parts of the treaty of commerce are so much to our desire and advantage, that he hopes to see many a rich man in *England* by it: for the other part, which concerns the adjustment with *Portugal*, though the terms are likewise agreed between us and *Spain*, yet the present effect of it seems likely to be avoided by the late accord between *France* and *Portugal*, of which I send the account inclosed by the copy of Sir *Robert Southwell's* letter to my Lord *Sandwich* upon that occasion. I inclose likewise the copies of the *French King's* last letters to the *States-General*, and, at the same time, to the Queen Regent of *Spain*, declaring his intentions to invade these countries; which last, methinks, is drawn with so ill colours and so ill grace, that, if his Captains do no better than his *Secretaries* upon this occasion, the success of his enterprise may prove no better than the justice of it here appears. If these papers may have arrived already some other way, your Excellency will however pardon my diligence, since you receive no other trouble than that of throwing them away. The levies here and musters go on with all the care and speed this government is capable of. This evening, I am assured, the twelve hundred *Italians* so long expected, are arrived at *Ostend*. Last night parted *Don Bernard de Salinas*, dispatched from the Marquis here, to beg some assistance from his Majesty: the present hopes are only of leave to recruit the old regiment here to the number of two thousand, or else to raise two new ones, under such Officers as his Majesty shall name. The cloud threatening

threatening these parts from *France* is not yet broken, and the marches of their troops to three several rendezvous make it yet uncertain where it will fall. *Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, Mons, and St. Omers*, are in very good condition, and the last hath three thousand men in garrison, besides the *Burgeoisie*. The Prince of *Ligni* has now four thousand horse effective at the head quarters near *Nivelle*, where there will be five thousand foot to join with them, and attend their enemy's motion, and cover *Brussels* upon occasion. It is most certain, that, if the *French* had begun to march when they began to talk, about three weeks since, this country had been lost without dispute or remedy; the defence will be now perhaps sharper than expected. *La Bassé* and *Armentiers* are already slighted, and *Charles-Roy* is all mined within, the mines filled with powder; guns and magazines drawn off, and ready to fly upon the first approach of the *French*; which is here esteemed both a generous and prudent resolution of the Marquis, since he could not finish it in time, nor preserve his child without the mother's danger.

I know nothing else to increase this trouble, besides the assurances of my being,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble,

and most obedient servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 27. N. S. 1667.

TWO Days since came hither the news of *Armentiers* being seized by a party of the *French* horse, about five hundred strong; half of the fortifications were already slighted, and not above an hundred and fifty

fifty soldiers left in the town. What their next design will be, seems not yet resolved; their troops marching on all parts, give the occasion I suppose to the several governors of *Mons*, *Cambray*, and *Valenciennes*, to signify, by expresses hither, the jealousy each of them has of the storm being ready to fall upon their parts.

At *Cambray* and *Lisle*, several *French* have been taken surveying the works, and disguised; but all those places are at present in so good condition, that the choice may perhaps make some difficulties in the *French* counsels, which I believe have been much disconcerted by the blowing up of *Charles-Roy*; a resolution they expected not from the Marquis, and without which these parts of the country had run inevitable dangers, and the most successful invasion had been made in those Provinces where the *French* pretensions lay.

The discourses here observe, that the first pace of the war being made in *Flanders*, loses all the good grace which the *French* endeavoured to give their invasion; that the town they have taken can import no more than the advance of their frontiers; that they seem unresolved whether to keep it or not; how to use the governor and soldiers whom they took in their beds, whether as prisoners or friends, and more uncertain what to do next; that their slowness in entering the country, and loss of twenty days time, though they were then as ready as now, has certainly saved these Provinces: for it is constant without any dispute, that if they had fallen on in the beginning of this month, *Charles-Roy*, *Nivelle*, *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and *Mechlyn*, would have cost them neither time nor danger. From these circumstances, the reasoners here conclude, a weakness and incertitude in the *French* counsels, and begin to hope they may have taken their measures as ill among their neighbours as they have among themselves; and say confidently, that, unless they are agreed with *England*, their affairs are in a worse

worse posture than they have been these twenty years. They begin to hope that all our late practices with the *French*, are aimed no farther than to embark them in this affair, and have our revenge for the game they played in engaging us in the *Dutch* war: they say, that if, by offers and shews of abandoning *Spain*, we have drawn the *French* into this war, which hath already cost them all their confidence with *Holland*, all farther hopes of amusing *Spain*, and the credit of their good faith and meaning with the rest of Christendom: that if, after our peace made with *Holland* and *France*, we resolve to offer our mediation between *France* and *Spain*, and upon the refusal or failing of it, join with the *Hollander* in the protection of these countries, enter vigorously into the war, share with the *Spaniard* whatever shall be gained from the *French*, and let *Holland* find their account by destroying all the *French* designs of trade and plantations abroad; the reasoners here conclude, that if this has been our design for these two months past, and be pursued with the same success it has begun: it is one of the greatest councils that has ever been conceived by any Prince, and which will make the greatest change in our own affairs, and in those of all Christendom besides, and appear the best adjusted revenge upon the *French*, that ever was taken upon an enemy.

From *Breda* we have got little more than the entry of our Ambassador, which makes us believe some mystery in the delays of peace there, as well as those of war on the other side.

From *Sweden* I have, the last post, a particular assurance of that Crown's good intentions towards the house of *Austria*, of their dispatching one Monsieur *Tongel* Envoy into *Spain*, who is to pass this way, and will be addressed to me, to introduce him to the Marquis, by whose representations, the Court of *Sweden* desires

80 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

desires to have their Minister's reception in *Spain* favoured, and his negotiation advanced.

I am, as will ever become me to be, with equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Holles.

My Lord,

Brussels, May 29. N. S. 1667.

I Know not with what speed or success three of mine may have arrived at *Breda*, but am apt to doubt the certainty of this commerce, by observing, that your Excellency's of the 22d came not to my hands till yesterday, and after the receipt of it I was so unlucky, as not to find the Baron *De L'Isola* till later at night than would suffer this dispatch: I now send it to Mr *Shaw* of *Antwerp*, with orders to convey it by express from thence, in case he meets no other sudden occasion; and whatever favour or commands your Excellency may hereafter design me, will come sooner and safer, I suppose, by an address to the same hand at *Antwerp*.

I acquainted the Baron *De L'Isola* with the Dutch allegations concerning some advances made by him as from his Majesty, upon the point of *Paleroon*. He says, however they may seem to interpret it, they could not understand it by any thing that passed from him in that private communication, which was all he entered into upon his short stay in *Holland*. That upon his first discourse of his Majesty's intention to make the treaty of 1662 the foundation of this at present: the person he discoursed with raised two difficulties; the first, that of *Paleroon*; and the other, the continuance of the pretensions left on either side; which, as they had given occasion, or at least pretext, for the present quarrel, so, if they were left still undecided, they might

might hereafter have the same effect; whereas their desire was, by this peace, to cut off the root of all future differences. For the first point, he (the Baron) asked, whether, if all other articles should be agreed, the States would be so obstinate upon the point of *Poleroon*, as to endanger the peace for that alone: It was answered, the *French* had already essayed to do some offices in this particular, and had brought it to this very demand, whether the States would continue the war rather than yield the point of *Poleroon*; and that the States had answered formally, they would.

For the second, concerning the mutual pretensions left in the treaty of 1662, he (the Baron) seemed to approve the cutting them all off, but proposed, that in consideration of it, the States should give his Majesty a sum of money in some sort proportionable to what his pretences might amount; and that if the States would make any advance considerable in point of the sum, he (the Baron) would employ all his own and his friends endeavours, to induce his Majesty to a condescension in this point of *Poleroon*, as well as that of clearing all pretensions on either side.

To this was answered, that for *Poleroon* nothing more could be said, nor any consideration make the States yield it, without the alternative of restoring all on each side, which would create length and difficulty in the treaty. That, for a sum of money in satisfaction of his Majesty's pretensions, they could not consent to any such proposal, without a particular liquidation of what the pretensions on each side amounted to; since they believed in gross their own upon us, to be higher than ours upon them: and yet, at the same time, it was insisted, that no such examen or liquidation should be entered upon, since doing it before the conclusion, would expose the treaty to the danger of delays, and consequently of accidents; and leaving it to commissioners after the conclusion, would leave field for new disputes.

This was the sum of the Baron's negotiation, in which he made all the advances as from himself; but when he found he was not likely to bring it to any issue, by reason of those two difficulties, that is *Poleroon*, and the sum in consideration of our clearing all pretensions; he then told them, as by his Majesty's order, that the point of *Poleroon*, touching our *East-India* company rather than his Majesty, the King would send over some persons deputed from the said company, with his Ambassadors; and if the *States* would do the same, it was likely the persons deputed from each company might find an expedient in the business.

This the Baron gives me for a short and true relation of all his discourses in *Holland*, which having been made with one person alone, and very private, I find he expected not they would have been so public, as to be alledged upon any new negotiations.

Our news from the frontiers since my last is this: about the time of the *French King's* coming down to *Arras*, the orders were given for slighting *Armentiers*, *la Bassée* and *Charle-Roy*; which being public, and begun to be executed at *Armentiers*, a *Brigetin* Priest of that town went to *Arras*, and, upon complaints of their being left without defence in the times of danger that were approaching, made application to the Governor of *Arras* for a protection for their town: within a day or two after, when the works were about half slighted, instead of the protection, came seven or eight hundred *French* horse, and, finding a guard of about forty men at the entrance of the place, made a discharge upon them, killed one, and wounded two: upon which, those few soldiers that were in the town-house, shot and killed three or four of the *French*, who began to pillage some of the burgher's houses; but this disorder was soon appeased by their officers; after which they summoned the peasants in, and began to repair

repair the fortifications, kept the Governor in restraint, and carried the matter as if this had been the declaration of war. This news coming to the Governor of *Lisle*, he seized upon some *French* men he found in his town by way of reprisal for those taken at *Armentiers*; and the Marquis gave order to the Prince of *Ligny*, who commands the horse here, to charge any party he should find making courses into the frontiers, and to endeavour to bring away some prisoners, both as reprisals for those of *Armentiers*, and to know something of the *French* pretensions.

After they had kept *Armentiers* about five days, they released the Governor, told the people they came not to begin any war, but only at their invitation to protect the town; drew off at first one party of their men, and last *Friday* morning all the rest: the Governor of *Lisle* set his *French* men at liberty, and the Prince of *Ligny* some that he had taken in a skirmish of small parties upon the borders of *Hainault*, wherein the Marquis tells me about fifty of the *French* were killed, and near twenty taken. This I am more particular in relating, because it seems the first pace of the war, though since in a manner disavowed by the *French*; and indeed it is generally censured as the effect of a weak and uncertain council, to begin without any formed design or declaration, by seizing so rashly a place of no moment, and in the Province of *Flanders*, where none of their pretences lie. These three last days the motion of their troops has been through *Philippeville*, and the frontiers of *Hainault*. The *French* King was expected last night at *Quesnoy*, and to day at *Philippeville*. They have begun a bridge upon the *Sambre*, near a village called *Marfin au Pont*, a league up the river from the place where *Charles-Roy* stood; the ground being on the one side *Pais de Liege*, and on the other the *Spaniards* country; so we expect here they will enter that country to-morrow; but which

which way they intend their first impression is uncertain; the bridge they make serving a design either upon *Namur*, *Mons*, or *Brussels*. The *Spanish* forces on this side lie between this place and *Marimount*, and consist of about four thousand horse and as many foot, have no formed design but to attend the enemy's motion, and to retire for the defence of this place, in case of the enemy's marching this way.

The general belief here of the most intelligent is, that *France* has had the skill or good luck *de nos endormir*, both us and *Holland*, in this great conjuncture, and by assuring us of peace upon good terms with the *Dutch*, and at the same time the *Dutch* of never according with us, nor breaking with *Spain* to their (the *Hollanders*) prejudice, will amuse us both in a slow treaty till they have made so great an impression in these countries, as will give neither of us the liberty to take those measures upon this affair, to which either of our interests might lead us; and perhaps find means to divert the treaty at last, from coming to any issue. They say, that delaying our treaty, for the point of *Poleroon*, is losing a dinner for mustard; and that every day it is deferred, endangers an irrecoverable conjuncture, that heaven hath given us, of making ourselves considerable to whom, which way, and to what degree, we please. God send these reasoners to be deceived, and that we may not be so, at least no more by the same hands. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Philip Warwick.

S I R,

Brussels, June 21. N. S. 1667.

I AM very sorry that I must rejoice with you, and condole with all your friends at the same time, and upon the same occasion; for, though the retreat I hear you

you have made from business must needs be a trouble and a loss to us all, yet I know it is an ease and a happiness to yourself, or else a wise man, as you are, ought not to have chosen it, I will not tell you how great a contentment I had in knowing my business lay so much in your way, because I never intend to pursue more than what his Majesty pleases to make my due, and I have ever reckoned both upon your justice and your kindness: but I must bear this disappointment, since you are the author of it, which is the best consolation I can think of. In the mean time, I hope you do not intend to retire from the commerce of your friends, as well as that of business; for though you should lock yourself up within your walls of *Frog-pool*, I shall ever pretend to have a share in you, there it self, and never omit any occasions of assuring you, that no change you can make in your course of life, can ever make any in the resolutions I have taken of being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, July 19. N. S. 1667.

THE diligence of the posts, or favour of the weather, have given me two of your Lordship's to acknowledge since my last of the 1st and 5th current, with the good news of the *Dutch* being beaten off at *Harwich*; for since we are in a disease, every fit we pass well over is so much of good, and gives hopes of recovery: I doubt this is not the last, for I hear *De Witt* is resolved that their fleet shall not give over action till the very ratifications of the treaty are exchanged: in which he certainly pursues his interest, that

that the war may end with so much the more honour abroad, and heart at home; for commonly the same dispositions between the parties with which one war ends, another begins. And though this may end in peace, yet I doubt it will be with so much unkindness between the nations, that it will be wisdom on both sides to think of another, as well as to avoid it. All discourse here is of the peace as a thing undoubted, and every packet I receive from *England* confirms me in the belief that a war abroad is not our present business, till all at home be in better order; no more than hard exercise which strengthens healthy bodies, can be proper for those that have a fever lurking in the veins, or a consumption in the flesh; for which, rest, and order, and diet, are necessary, and perhaps some medicine too, provided it come from a careful and a skilful hand. This is all that I shall say upon that subject, which, I presume, has before this received some resolution by my Lord Ambassador *Coventry's* arrival; for I confess my stomach is come down, and I should be glad to hear the peace ended, and our coasts clear, since it will not be better; but all this while, *Multa gemens ignominiam plagasque superbi hostis*, and I am sure would not desire to live, unless with hopes of seeing ourselves one day in another posture, which God Almighty has made us capable of, whenever we please ourselves.

I am sorry to find the commerce between *England* and *Spain* so far cut off, as it should seem by your Lordship's complaints of having received none of a date later than *May* the first, for mine holds yet pretty constant, though I suppose visited by the *French* in their passage. On *Sunday* last I received one from Mr. *Godolphin* of the first current, where he told me, the treaties were sent signed by several ways into *England*, and therefore concluded some of them arrived. He seems to doubt still the *Portuguese* accepting their share

in it; which is the likelier, because the Marquis tells me, he hears, by this ordinary, that better terms may be offered them, though 'tis pleasant the *Spaniard* should not have yet resolved to give them the title, when, for ought I know, without it, all their own may be in danger. His Excellency assures me they are resolved in *Spain* upon declaring a general war, both by sea and land, and that way make the *French* unmask their designs; that they have sent order already to seize upon all that belongs to the *French* in their *Indies*, who have a great share in the *Spanish* fleet that is daily expected home; that they have remitted, by this ordinary, to his Excellency a hundred and thirty thousand crowns, which is the third remise of about that sum, arrived since the war began; and that they have negotiated with the *Fregoni*, or some such name, being the ablest merchants at *Amsterdam*, for nine hundred thousand more, so that the process seems well entered, and I wish them a good issue.

We have here no certainty of the progress of the *French* arms, nor can we say that *Courtray* is taken, though the report has continued more or less these four days; but the Marquis would not own any advice of it on *Saturday* night; though he spoke very despairingly of the town, but confidently of the citadel's holding out at least fifteen days, if those within it did their duty. His Excellency makes a very different story of the Baron of *Limbeck's* defeat, which was reported here; and assures me, that having carried some relief into *Courtray*, he retreated with only two hundred horse, and meeting a party of six hundred of the *French*, charged through them, killed the Captain of their vanguard with several others, and came off with the loss only of fifteen men.

Yesterday morning the Marquis went to *Gant*, with intensions of returning within three or four days; and hath left the town so emptied by his journey, as well as
the

the camp, that, besides the Governor, I know not of a Gentleman of my acquaintance in it.

The Baron *de L'Isola* went this morning towards *Antwerp*, and from thence passes towards *Ostend* to go over with the convoy, which I could not persuade him to lose, though I endeavoured it upon a hint in your Lordship's letter, and more upon his telling me that you had dissuaded him from coming till the ratifications of the treaty were passed; but he says he is confident that will be before he can arrive; that he hath sent over all his papers and bills of exchange beforehand, and, if he loses this convoy, knows not when to hope for a secure passage. And, if his Majesty thinks fit, will rather make a stay at *Gravesend*, or any other place near the water side, till all jealousy of his coming be blown over.

I give your Lordship humble thanks for the letter I received to make use of part of the money in Mr. *Shaw's* hands, for supply of what was grown due to me; and am, I am sure, at all times, more troubled to ask it; than pleased to receive it. I was much more sensibly obliged by the part you was pleased to give me of the good fortune arrived to your family, by its increase; and my Lady's safety; and will assure your Lordship you do me but justice to believe I am concerned in all that happens to you, and more particularly upon this occasion, of which I have made very constant inquiries, though without your Lordship's trouble. I gave you *El para bien* with all the joy that can be, and the presages of many more such adventures; and know my Lady began with her own sex for no other reason, but because the war was ended. My own particular satisfaction in it is, that my family may continue their services to your Lordship's, and that way make up what I shall fall short of in the expressions of that passion and truth, wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To

To my Lord Life.

My Lord, *Brussels, Aug. — 1667.*

I Received lately the honour of one from your Lordship, which after all complaints of slowness and dulness had enough to bear it out, though it had been much better addressed, but needed nothing where it was, besides being yours. In my present station I want no letters of business or news, which makes those that bring me marks of my friend's remembrance, or touches at their present thoughts and entertainments, taste much better than any thing can do that is common fare.

I agree very much with your Lordship, in being little satisfied by the wits excuse, of employing none upon relations as they do in *France*; and doubt much it is the same temper and course of thoughts among us, that makes us neither act things worth relating, nor relate things worth the reading. Whilst making some of the company laugh, and others ridiculous, is the game in vogue, I fear we shall hardly succeed at any other, and am sorry our courtiers should content themselves with such victories as those. I would have been glad, to have seen Mr. Cowley, before he died, celebrated Captain Douglas his death, who stood and burnt in one of our ships at *Chatham*, when his soldiers left him, because it should never be said, a Douglas quitted his post without order; whether it be wise in men to do such actions or no, I am sure it is so in *States*, to honour them; and, if they can, to turn the vein of wits, to raise up the esteem of some qualities above their real value, rather than bring every thing to burlesque, which, if it be allowed at all, should be so only to wise men in their closets, and not to wits, in their common mirth and company. But I leave them to be

reformed by great mens examples and humours, and know very well 'tis folly for a private man to touch them, which does but bring them like wasps about one's ears. However, I cannot but bewail the transitoriness of their fame, as well as other mens, when I hear Mr. *Waller* is turned to burlesque among them, while he is alive, which never happened to old poets till many years after their death; and though I never knew him enough to *adore* him, as many have done, and easily believe he may be, as your Lordship says, enough out of fashion, yet I am apt to think some of the old cut-work bands were of as fine thread, and as well wrought, as any of our new points; and, at least, that all the wit he and his company spent, in heightening love and friendship, was better employed, than what is laid out so prodigally by the modern wits, in the mockery of all sorts of religion and government.

I know not how your Lordship's letter has engaged me in this kind of discourses; but I know very well you will advise me after it to keep my residency here as long as I can, fortelling me what success I am like to have among our courtiers if I come over. The best on't is, my heart is set so much upon my little corner at *Sheen*, that, while I keep that, no other disappointments will be very sensible to me; and, because my wife tells me she is so bold as to enter into talk of enlarging our dominions there, I am contriving here this summer, how a succession of cherries may be compassed from *May* till *Michaelmas*, and how the riches of *Sheen* vines may be improved, by half a dozen sorts which are not yet known there, and which, I think, much beyond any that are. I should be very glad to come and plant them myself this next season, but know not yet how those thoughts will hit. Though I design to stay but a month in *England*, yet they are here very unwilling I should stir, as all people in ad-

versity

versity are jealous of being forsaken; and his Majesty is not willing to give them any discouragement, whether he gives them any assistance or no. But, if they end the campaign with any good fortune, they will be better humoured in that, as well as all other points: and it seems not a very unlikely thing, the *French* having done nothing in six months past but harass their army, and being, before *Lille*, engaged in a siege, which may very well break the course of their success. They have not yet made the least advance upon any of their out-works, but been beaten off with much loss in all their assaults: and, if that King's design be to bring his Nobility as *low* as he has done his people, he is in a good way, and may very well leave most of the brave among them in their trenches there.

I had not need write often at this length, nor make your Lordship any new professions of my being,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother, Brussels, Octob. 10. N. S. 1667.

HAVING written so many and long letters to my father, I resolved this should be to you, tho' upon a subject wherein he has been very desirous to be informed; which was more than I could pretend to from any notices of my own, having been young and very new in business, when I was first employed upon the *Munster* treaty. All I knew of the grounds or occasions of our late war with *Holland*, was, that, in all common conversation, I found both the *Court*, and the *Parliament* in general, very sharp upon it; complaining of the *Dutch* insolencies, of the great disadvantages they had brought upon our trade in general, and

and the particular injuries of their *East-India* company towards ours; and it was not easy to think any should better understand the honour of the Crown than our Court; or the interests of the nation, than the *house of Commons*. One thing I confess gave me some reflections, which was, to observe that three of my father's greatest friends, and persons that I most esteemed upon many accounts, were violently against the counsels of this war; which were my Lords of *Northumberland*, of *Leicester*, and Sir *Robert Long*; though two of them were of the Privy Council, and the third in a great office, and ever bred up in Court. For my own part, when I entered into that affair, all I knew was, that we were actually in a war, and that the best we could do was to get out of it either by success and victories, or by a fair and reasonable peace, which I believed our treaty with *Munster* would make way for; and I found some of our Ministers had no other end by it, having given over the thoughts of any great advantages we should find by pursuing the war. How that succeeded, and how it ended, you all know there, as well as I do here.

Upon conclusion of the peace at *Brada*, my sister took a very strong fancy to a journey into *Holland*, to see a country she had heard so much of; and I was willing to give her that satisfaction, after the melancholy scene we have had here ever since the *French* invasion of this country. We went *incognito*, with only her woman, a valet de chambre, and a page out of livery, who all spoke *Dutch*. I leave it to her to give you an account of what entertainments she met with there, which she was much pleased with, especially those of the *Indian* houses: for me, who had seen enough of it in my younger travels, I found nothing new but the *Stadt-house* at *Amsterdam*, which, though a great fabric, yet answered not the expectation I had, from so much time, and so vast expence, as had been employed

employed to raise it: which put me in mind of what the *Cavaliero Bernini* said of the *Louvre*, when he was sent for to take a view of it, that it was *una gran piccola cosa*. The chief pleasure I had in my journey was, to observe the strange freedom that all men took in boats and inns, and all other common places, of talking openly whatever they thought upon all the public affairs, both of their own State, and their neighbours: and this I had the advantage of finding more by being *incognito*, and think it the greatest piece of the liberty that country so much values; the government being otherwise as severe, and the taxes as hard, as among any of their neighbours.

At our return from *Amsterdam* we lay two nights at the *Hague*, where I made a visit to Monsieur *De Witt*: I told him who I was, but that having passed unknown through the country, to all but himself, I desired I might do so still. I told him, my only business was, to see the things most considerable in the country, and I thought I should lose my credit, if I left it without seeing him. He took my compliment very well, and returned it, by saying, he had received a character of me to my advantage, both from *Munster* and *Brussels*, and was very glad to be acquainted with me at a time when both our nations were grown friends; and had equal reason to look about us, upon what had lately happened in *Flanders*; he seemed much to regret the late unhappy quarrel between us, which had made way for this new war among our neighbours. He laid the fault of ours wholly upon Sir *George Downing*, who having been Envoy from *Cromwell* at a time when the *States* were forced to observe good measures with him; Sir *George* had made use of that disposition, to get a great deal of money from the *East-India* company, who were willing to bribe his good offices, in some disputes that remained between the two companies: that, having been continued in the same employment

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ployment by the King, he thought to drive the same trade; but, finding the company more stanch, he had taken upon him to pursue a dispute about the old pretensions, upon the loss of the *bonadventure*, as an affair of State between the nations, whereas it was left by our treaties to be pursued only as a process between the parties. That, in their treaty with *Cromwel*, all pretensions on both sides were cut off, but with this clause; *liceat autem* (to such as were concerned in that affair of the *bonadventure*) *litem inceptam prosegui*. That, this treaty having been made the model of that concluded with his Majesty soon after his restoration, that clause continued still in the new treaty; and the process which had been begun long before *Cromwel's* treaty, before the Magistrates of *Amsterdam*, had still gone on after their treaty with the King, according to the true intention of that clause. That Mr. Cary, who was employed to pursue it in the name of *Courtin's* executors, had brought it very near a composition, demanding forty thousand pounds for all pretensions, and the *Dutch* offering thirty. That he (*Monfieur De Witt*), to end this affair, had appointed a meeting with Mr. Cary, who had since confessed to his friends, that he was resolved to end it at that meeting, and rather to take the *Dutch* offer, than let the suit run on; but that very morning Sir George Downing sent for him, told him it was a matter of State between the two nations, and not only a concern of private men; and therefore absolutely forbid him to go on with any treaty about it, otherwise than by his communication and consent: that he would put in a memorial to the *States* upon it, and instead of forty thousand pounds, which he demanded, would undertake to get him fourscore, and that he was sure the *Dutch* would give a great deal more, rather than venture a quarrel with his Majesty.

This course he pursued, made extravagant demands, and with great insolence; made the same representations

tions to our Court, and possessed some of the Ministers that he would get great sums of money, both for his Majesty and them, if they would suffer him to treat this affair after his own manner; for he was sure the *Dutch* would go very far in that kind, if they saw there was no other way to avoid a war with *England*.

That Monsieur *De Witt* for his part thought they were a free State no longer, if they should yield a point that they not only knew we had no ground for, but were sure we knew it as well as they; and that whatever the *States* should give upon this occasion, might be demanded at any time by our Court upon any other, since none could have less pretence.

This was all the account he thought fit at least to give me of this war; but other politic reasoners among the *Dutch* pretended to give several others. Some said, the Duke's military genius made him desirous to enter upon some action abroad, and be at the head of a great fleet against a State he never had been a friend to: that the Duke of *Albemarle* had long had a peek to their country, upon some usage he resented during his being an officer there: that he had a very mean opinion of their fleets, as well as their other forces, since the successes of the *English* in the first war during the *Usurper's* time: that some of the Ministers were possessed with an opinion of getting money, by only threatening a war, without intention of seeing it brought to effect; and had let it run on so far, till it was too late to go back. Some others attributed Sir *Thomas Clifford's* violence in the house of Commons, and practices with our *East India* company, to a deeper design; and would have the matter of religion concerned in the quarrel, as their pamphlets still endeavoured during the war: and these will not believe, that, when all *Christendom* was at peace, such a war could be begun merely upon a *chicane*, about the
loss

96 LETTERS of Sir William Temple;

loss of a ship or two so many years since. There are others that lay the war upon the conduct of *France*, by which, they say, we were engaged in it: that the present King was resolved to pursue the old scheme laid by Cardinal *Richieu*, of extending the bounds of *France* to the *Rhine*, for which ends the conquest of *Lorraine* and *Flanders* was to be first atchieved. That the purchase of *Dunkirk* from us was so violently pursued for this end, without which they could not well begin a war upon *Flanders*. That after this they had endeavoured to engage the present ministry in *Holland*, to renew the measures once taken in Cardinal *Richieu*'s time, for dividing *Flanders* between *France* and *Holland*: but, not succeeding in it, they had turned all their intrigues to engage us in a war, which might make room for their invasion of *Flanders*, whilst the two neighbours, most concerned in its defence, should be deep in a quarrel between themselves: that they made both parties believe they would assist them if there were occasion, and would certainly have done it, that as they took part with *Holland* upon our first successes at sea, and the Bishop of *Munster*'s treaty; so, if the successes had been great on the *Dutch* side, they would have assisted us in order to prolong the war.

These are discourses current in *Holland* upon this subject; and I had rather give you those of others upon it, than any of my own. The Duke of *Ormond* will be able to judge whether any of these *Dutch* reasonings are true, or which are most probable. For my part I can only say, that however the war began, I am very glad it is ended; but sorry it has made way for another, which, if it lasts any time, is like to involve us, and perhaps all the rest of the neighbours, either in a new war, or in new dangers. For if the *French* shall carry *Flanders*, as they very well may in another campaign, by the weakness and disorders in the government here; the *Dutch* are sensible that they must

must fall to be a maritime province to *France*, upon the best terms they can. The *Empire* will expect to see them soon at the *Rhine*, and thereby masters of four *Electors*; and what a condition *England* will be left in by such an accession of maritime forces, as well as provinces, to such a power as *France* is already, is but too easy, and too melancholy a reflexion. The *Dutch* are much exasperated at this invasion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous and as scornful to them in particular; for they say that *France*, till the very time of their march, gave constant assurances to the *States*, both by the *French* Ambassador here, and by their Ambassador at *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders* without first taking their measures upon it, with the *States* themselves. I find our Court are as much provoked on t'other side, not only upon this new danger, but also upon the *French* having declared war against us in favour of *Holland*, without the least pretence of injury, or other occasion; so that, if we both understood or trusted one another, 'tis likely we should be both of a mind in this matter; but, after such a sharp war as hath been for two years between us, and such a shuffling peace as that at *Breda*, I do not well see how this can happen before it be too late, and so must leave these contemplations to such as are in the ministry, both in *England* and *Holland*, as well as *Spain* and the *Empire*, to take such measures as are wise and necessary in such a conjuncture; which is perhaps the most important that has been a great while in *Christendom*, and may have consequences that none alive will see the end of. 'Tis time I am sure that you should see an end of this long letter, and come to the assurances of my being ever,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

To Sir George Savil.

SIR,

Brussels, Dec. 9. N. S. 1667.

BECAUSE my wife assures me I am not wholly lost in your favour, and memory, I will not run any farther venture of forfeiting my title for want of laying claim to it, but make use of the smallest occasion rather than none in a matter wherein I am so much and so justly concerned.

This place never was in worse posture to furnish either a war or a Gazette than at this time, for the troops are all mouldering in their winter quarters; and, as the greatest calms ordinarily succeed the greatest storms, so, since the heat of news and occurrences here during the late campaign, I have hardly known a place where less of both were stirring; action and invention seeming to have ended together. There is indeed a new difference between the two Crowns arisen this winter; which is, that *France* talks of peace, but prepares for war; and *Spain* talks of war, but prepares hitherto as if they were sure of peace: they say at present they are off that with *Portugal*, which is the only thing yet in sight that can make the other necessary to them.

Because my wife tells me you were content with the last papers I sent of the *Roman* news, I take occasion to continue it by the inclosed, though there be seldom any thing in it worth considering at this distance, unless it be the style, and the quiet of that scene, which, like the upper region, has no share in the storms of that below. And besides, as men have more curiosity to enquire how a great man *sleeps*, than what a mean man *does* all day long; so the very rest and idleness of that *Roman* Court, seems, among the discoursers, more worth knowing, than the busy motions of many small ones

ones in this northern continent, who yet at this time pretend to be considered, and to make a noise.

This is all I can say to excuse my enclosure of such papers, unless it be that, to tell a plain truth, I was very glad of the occasion to assure you that I am ever with very much passion, as well as with much reason,

S I R,

Your most faithful,

humble servant,

The Triple Alliance was made in January 1668.

To Sir John Temple.

S I R, London, Jan. 21. N. S. 1668.

YOU will wonder to see a letter from this place, my last having been from *Brussels*, without any thoughts of such a journey: and because my stay here is like to be very short, and my time extremely filled, I take the first hour I can find, to give you some account of this adventure.

Soon after my last an express came to me from his Majesty, commanding me to come immediately into *England*, with all the speed I could possibly make, but to take the *Hague* in my way, and there upon the credit of a visit I made *Monsieur de Witt* last September, and which passed very well between us, to make him another, and let him know his Majesty had commanded me to do so on purpose, to inform myself of the opinions he had concerning the *French* late invasion in *Flanders*, their great success there, and the appearances

ances of so much greater this ensuing spring; the thoughts he had of what was the true interest of his Majesty, the *States*, and the rest of *Chriſtendom* upon this occasion: that his Majesty, by knowing *his* mind, should believe he knew a great deal of that of the *States*, and thought he might thereby be enabled to take such measures, as might be necessary for him in this conjuncture.

I obeyed this summons, spoke with Monsieur *de Witt*, entered into great confidences with him, made report of all to his Majesty at my arrival here; gave Monsieur *de Witt* the character I think he deserves, of a very able and faithful Minister to his *State*, and, I thought, a sincere dealer, very different from what Sir *George Downing* had given of him at Court, who would have him pass for such another as himself, but only a craftier man in the trade than he.

Upon all this, his Majesty came last night to a resolution of the greatest importance which has yet passed, I think, here in any foreign affair, and begun the new year, I hope, with a good presage, and in which the new Ministry, particularly my Lord *Keeper* and my Lord *Arlington*, have had a very great part: mine will be to return immediately upon it into *Holland*, where, if it please God I arrive and succeed, I expect a great deal of satisfaction by my errand, and much the greater by knowing that you will have a great deal in it too, as in an affair I remember to be so agreeable with what have been always your opinions.

The season of the year is bad, and the weather ill, and yet my sister has been so kind as to come with me hither from *Brussels*, and to resolve to return with me at this short warning to the *Hague*, which will be a great ease to me as well as satisfaction; and, by freeing me from all domestic cares, leave me the more liberty for those of my business, which, I foresee, will be enough to take up a better head than mine. My wife
and

and children continue here, till I see where my wandering planet is like to fix; but my brother *Harry* resolves to be of the party, and take this occasion of seeing *Holland*, and what is like to pass in the world upon this great conjuncture. I am called away, and have time only to add the constant professions of that duty, wherewith I am, and shall be ever,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, 5 Jan. 24. N. S. 1668.*

UPON last Friday at night I gave your Lordship the account of what advance I had then made in my negotiation, and of the point where it was then arrested, with desires of his Majesty's pleasure; whereupon, having spent that whole day in debates, I had little time left for that letter, but intended to make some amends for the haste of it, within two days, by a dispatch with the yacht, and, though delayed a little longer, will not, I hope, be more unwelcome by bringing your Lordship a fuller and final account, which may be allowed to surprise you a little there, since it is looked upon as a miracle here, not only by those that heard it, but even by the Commissioners themselves, who have had the whole transaction of it, which I shall now acquaint your Lordship with.

Upon my two first conferences with Monsieur de *Wur*, which were the *Tuesday* and *Wednesday*, I found him much satisfied with his Majesty's resolution concerning our neighbours; but of the opinion, that the condition of forcing *Spain* was necessary to our common end, and to clear the means towards it from all accidents that may arise. For the defensive league he was

of

of his former opinion, that it should be negotiated between us; but upon the project offered his Majesty at *Schevelin*, by which all matter of commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no seeds of any new quarrels between the nations.

After two very long conferences upon these points, we ended with some difference, upon the necessity of concluding both parts of my projects at the same time; but for the rest, with great confidence and satisfaction, in one another's sincere and frank way of treating, since the first overtures between us.

The first time I saw him, he told me I came upon a day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his Majesty's resolutions which I brought, and of those the *States* had taken about the disposal of the chief commands in their army, by making Prince *Maurice* and Monsieur *Wurtz* Camp-masters general, and the Prince of *Tarante* and *Rhingrave* Generals of the horse, each to command in absence of the other. He told me all the detail of that disposition, but the rest I remember not well. I laid hold on this occasion (as indeed I thought was necessary) to say that his Majesty gave me order concerning the Prince of *Orange*, which he took very well, and said, was very obliging to the *States*; that, for his own part, he never failed to see the Prince once or twice a week, and grew to have a particular affection for him, and, would tell me plainly, that the *States* designed the Captain-generalship of all the forces for him, so soon as by his age he grew capable of it.

The next day was my audience, which passed with all the respect that could be given his Majesty's character; and the next morning began my conference with the eight Commissioners of secret affairs: I exposed my powers, and saw theirs, in pursuit whereof I offered them the project of the defensive league, as that which was to be the foundation of all farther negotiations,

tions, and without which perhaps neither of us should be very forward to speak our minds with confidence and freedom, in what concerned our neighbours, being likely therein to shock so great powers abroad: I told them, for the rest, his Majesty having resolved, as far as he could in honour, to comply with the sense of the States, in the offices of mediation between the two Crowns; I was first to expect from them the knowledge of the States resolution, in case they were already agreed.

I took this course in my first proposals, because I found here, that the Provinces were not yet resolved upon theirs, five of them only having fallen upon that of Monsieur de Witt; but Zealand being of opinion to agree with France for dividing Flanders; and Utrecht, for suffering France only to retain the last year's conquest, by way of *compromis*, till their pretensions were adjudged before competent arbiters, to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint mediators: and I was in hopes, that knowing his Majesty's resolutions to join with them, before they were agreed among themselves, it might produce some counsels among them, a little more favourable to Flanders, and consequently more honourable to his Majesty.

After my proposals, Monsieur de Witt was, by the rest of the Commissioners, desired to speak for them all in the conduct of our conferences, who after a preamble of the usual forms and compliments, upon his Majesty's happy dispositions, to enter into a nearer alliance with the States upon the mentioned points, declared the same resolution in the States, and, allowing our confidence by a defensive league for the basis of the rest, said, the States were very willing *de faire insérer les clauses pour la seureté commune dans les articles de la médiation*, and was large upon this argument, that the last being of very pressing haste as well as necessity, and they having already order from their Provinces to proceed

proceed upon it, they could not have the same power upon the defensive, being a new matter, under six weeks or two months time, but as soon as they received them, would proceed to give their Ambassador in *England* powers to fall upon that treaty, which must, for a basis, have at the same time an adjustment of matters of commerce, for his forementioned reasons.

I thought fit to cut this matter short, and told them directly, I had no orders to proceed upon any other points, but in consequence or conjunction of the defensive league; in which I thought his Majesty had all the reasons that could be, both because he would not venture a war's ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England*; and on the other side knew the States, whose danger was nearer, would never be capable of taking any vigorous resolutions in their neighbours affairs, till they were secure at home by his Majesty's defence.

That his Majesty thought the most generous and friendly advance, that could be, was made on his side, by his proposition, being himself so much more out of danger than they were, and so much courted to a conjunction with *France* to their prejudice, as well as that of *Flanders*; that they had not made a difficulty of such alliances with Princes, who had lately *desmetes* with them as well as his Majesty; and that, God be thanked, his Majesty was not in condition to have such an offer refused by any Prince or State of *Christendom*.

These were the sum of our discourses, though very long, and such as occasioned the Commissioners to withdraw thrice and consult together; though nothing was resolved; but that Monsieur *de Witt* and Monsieur *Isbrant* should spend the afternoon with me at my lodging, to endeavour the adjusting of circumstances between us, since we seemed to agree in substance.

That conference ended, as I gave your Lordship notice that evening, upon the point, that, instead of the project of *Schevelin*, or any new adjustment concern-

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ing marine affairs, the States would proceed upon his Majesty's project of a defensive league, provided the provisional articles in the *Breda* treaty, might be inserted and perpetuated in this, and thereupon we should expect his Majesty's answer to what I should write that night.

The next being *Saturday* morning, I desired another conference with my two Commissioners, but could not have it till the afternoon, they being to report that morning to the States what had passed the evening before. At our meeting after noon, they told me their communication of all to the States, and their Lordships resolution upon them, that it was necessary the articles provisional should be inserted in the treaty, so as I began to doubt a stop of all till his Majesty's answer, which subjected all to uncertainties: I knew the *French* Ambassador was grown into very ill humour upon my arrival, and fallen into complaints and expostulations with several of the States; and the more, because he could not see *Monfieur de Witt* from my coming over till that time, though he had often pressed it, and had an hour given him the next day; *Monfieur de Witt* having promised to see him, as he went to church after noon. Upon this I knew likewise he had dispatched a courier to *Paris*, which I thought would make no delay, and therefore resolved to fall upon all the instances and expedients I could, to draw up a sudden conclusion. I told them I desired it extremely, before I could hear again out of *England*, because I had left *Monfieur Ruigny* very busy at my coming away, and not unbefriended; that I feared the same artifices of *France* to disturb us here, and perhaps *Monfieur d'Estrades* might, at his next meeting, endeavour to infuse some jealousies into them, by the relation of what had passed between your Lordship and *Monfieur Ruigny*, three or four days after the date of my first instructions; upon which I told them frankly

(as his Majesty gave me leave) what had passed in that affair. Monsieur *de Witt* asked me whether I could shew him the paper drawn up between you; and, knowing I had it not, desired earnestly I would procure it him, assuring me no use should be made of it, but by joint consent: but saying, nothing would serve so far to justify them, in case of a breach growing necessary between them and *France*, I promised to write to your Lordship about it, which I desire you will please to take notice of.

I told Monsieur *de Witt*, what confidence I had given his Majesty of his sincere proceedings, and how I had been supported by your Lordship in those suggestions, against the opinion of some other great men: what advantage these would take, if they saw our whole negotiation was stopped upon a thing that looked like a *chicanerie*; since articles provisional till new agreements, were in effect as strong as perpetual, which might itself be changed by new agreements: that this would be esteemed an artifice of his, especially since he had declared, upon my asking him, that it was his own opinion, (and that he would tell the *States* so if they demanded it) not to conclude without insertion of those articles, which yet he could not deny to be of present force; for that they allowed; but seemed to doubt, that referring in the treaty of *Breda* to a new treaty, they would be invalidated, if a new treaty should pass without their confirmation.

I found Monsieur *Ijbrant* was content with my reasons, and said he would undertake his Province should be so, but Monsieur *de Witt* said, *Holland* and *Zealand* would not. I told them at last, that I was sure the *States* would not think fit to lose the effect of the league proposed upon such a point as this, and that they intended only to have the advantage of seeing his Majesty's resolution, in answer to my letter, before they concluded, with resolutions however, that this should

not

not hinder at last: that I foresaw many things might arise in ten days time, to break all our good intentions, and some more than I had told them, or could at present; that if they knew me, and how far I was to be trusted where I gave my word, I would propose an expedient to them; but being so new among them, I thought it was to no purpose: there I paused. They desired me I would propose however, and so I did; which was, that we should proceed to draw up the whole project, and sign as soon as was possible; and that in case I afterwards received his Majesty's leave, in answer of my *Friday's* letter, to insert those provisional articles, I would freely declare it to them, and insert them in a separate article, to be a part of the defensive league. They both looked a while one upon another, and, after a pause, Monsieur *de Witt* gave me his hand, and after a compliment upon the confidence he had taken in my face, and in the rest of my dealing since our first commerce, told me, that if I would promise them what I had said, *en homme de bien*, they would ask no farther assurance of me; and provided the treaty of *Breda* might be confirmed in the preamble of this, to take away all scruples of those articles being of less force than they were before; for his part, though he could promise nothing what the States would resolve, yet he would promise, that he and Monsieur *Ijsbrant* would use their utmost endeavours, to induce them to proceed upon my proposition; and so we fell immediately to digest our project of the whole treaty: for I made no difficulty of the confirmation proposed, knowing that new treaties use to begin by confirmation of the old.

I am the larger in this relation, that his Majesty may know upon what reasons I engaged my word to them in this point, and thereupon may give me leave, without more circumstances, to be true to it, in case
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his Majesty's pleasure in the point be dispatched away to me, upon the receipt of my former letter.

After this difficulty well evaded, we found none but in this expression [*In case our persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and we should come à la force et à la contrainte*], which I moderated at first by the words [*aux moyens plus durs*], and afterwards [*aux moyens plus efficaces*]; for we drew it up first in *French*: the other additions or enlargements, I dare presume, his Majesty will not be displeased with, no more than that article about *Portugal*, though I had no instruction in it. If I have failed in enlarging upon very short and hasty instructions, I most humbly beg his Majesty's pardon, because I am sure I kept myself as close as was possible, to what I apprehended to be his Majesty's sense upon the whole and every part.

That evening being *Saturday*, or rather that night and *Sunday* morning, we agreed upon the project in *French*, and gave order for the translating of it into *Latin*, which was done, and perused by me, and agreed to between twelve and one that night, and engrossed by eleven next morning, being *Monday*, and at a meeting with the Commissioners, jointly was signed and sealed, and mutually delivered between two and three that afternoon; after that, time spent in comparing the instruments, and adjusting the sums, computed as the value of the several aids.

After sealing, we all embraced with much kindness and applause of my saying upon that occasion, *A Breda comme amis, icy comme freres*: and Monsieur de Witt made me a most obliging compliment, of having the honour which never any other Minister had before me, of drawing the *States* to a resolution and conclusion in five days, upon a matter of the greatest importance, and a *secours* of the greatest expence they had ever engaged in; and all directly against the nature of their constitutions, which enjoined them recourse to their

Provinces

Provinces upon all such occasions, and used to draw out all common deliberations to months delays; and added upon it, that now it was done, it looked like a miracle.

I must add three words to do him right in return of his compliment, that I found him as plain, as direct, and square, in the course of this business, as any man could be; though often stiff in points where he thought any advantage could accrue to his country: and have all the reason in the world to be satisfied with him, and for his industry no man had ever more. I am sure, for these five days at least, neither of us spent any idle hours, neither day nor night.

After the conclusion, I received yesterday the visits of all the public Ministers in town, except the Ambassadors, between whom, and Envoys extraordinary, some difficulties were arisen (they say, here first begun by Sir George Downing) which have, in a manner, spoiled all commerce. None of the other failed to rejoice with me upon the conclusion of my business, and, to express their adoring his Majesty's resolutions, which, in this conjuncture, they say, have given new life to all the Courts of *Christendom*, whose councils were before in the greatest perplexities and disorder that could be. They say his Majesty will have the sole honour of giving either peace to *Christendom*, or a ballance to the wars; and, has shown, that all must follow what he gives a head to. Much more of this kind I hear from all hands, and have no reason to doubt their meaning what they say.

Thus far I have given your Lordship the smooth side only of this conclusion, and now you must receive the rough: for, having concerted with the Commissioners, that Monsieur *de Witt* and I should give part of our treaty (all but the separate articles) to the *French* and *Spanish* Ambassadors; the first we performed this afternoon, the last we intend to morrow morning.

The

The French Ambassador had been much surprized with our conclusion : for, upon our first conference with the Commissioners, he had said, *Tout cela s'en ira en fumée, et que le roy son maitre s'en mocqueroit.* The day before our signing, being told we advanced very fast, he replied; *Et bien, d'icy à six semaines nous en parlerons,* relying upon the forms of the State, to run the circle of their towns.

Upon our giving him part of the whole business, he replied coldly, that he doubted we had not taken a right way to our end; that the fourth article of the second instrument was not in terms very proper to be digested by a King of twenty nine years old, and at the head of eighty thousand men : that if we had joined both to desire his Master to prolong the offer he had made, of a cessation of arms till the time we proposed, and, withal, not to move his arms farther in *Flanders*, though *Spain* should refuse, we might hope to succeed : but if we thought to prescribe him laws, and force him to compliance, by leagues between ourselves, or with *Spain*, though *Sweden* and the German Princes should join with us; he knew his Master *ne flecheroit pas*, and that it would come to a war of forty years. From this he fell a little warmly upon the proceedings of the States, saying, they knew his Master's resolutions upon those two points, neither to prolong the cessation proposed beyond the end of *March*, nor to desist the pursuit of his conquests with his own arms, in case *Spain* consented not to his demands within that term. He said, his Majesty not being their ally, might treat and conclude what he pleased, without their offence; but for the States who were their nearest ally, to conclude so much to his Master's disrespect at least, and without communicating with him the Ambassador at all during the whole treaty, he must leave it to his Master to interpret as he thought fit. Monsieur de Witt defended their cause, and

and our common intentions, with great phlegm, but great steddiness, and told me, after he was gone, that this was the least we could expect at first from a *Frenchman*; and that I should do well, however, to give his Majesty an account of it by the first, that we put ourselves early in posture, to make good what we have said; and that as to the time and degree of our arming, he would consult with the *States*, and let me know their thoughts to be communicated to his Majesty upon this occasion.

I was in hopes to dispatch this away to morrow morning, but I shall be hindered till night, by the delay of signing a separate article with the Count *de Dona*, whereby place is reserved for *Sweden* to enter as principal into this treaty: for I have gone along in the whole business since my coming over, with perfect confidence and concert with the Count *de Dona*, upon his assuring me, his orders were to conform himself to his Majesty's resolution in what concerns the two Crowns, though before he absolutely engages, he expects from the *Spaniards*, by our intercession, some supplies for payment of his troops, and some other adjustments with the *Emperor*, which will be treated between the several Ministers at *London* under his Majesty's influence. In what I shall sign upon this occasion, together with the *States*, I confess to your Lordship to go beyond my instructions, but apprehending it to be wholly agreeable to his Majesty's intentions, and extremely advantageous to the common ends and affairs; I venture upon this excess, and humbly beg his Majesty's pardon if I fail. Your Lordship will be troubled with some postscript to morrow, before I dispatch an express with the copies to be ratified by his Majesty within a month, though, I hope, a less time will be taken, those of *Holland* having undertaken theirs on fifteen days.

I am, &c.

To My Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Jan. 26. N. S. 1668.

SINCE the close of my long dispatch, I have every hour expected the copies to be transmitted for his Majesty's ratification, without being able to procure them. I cannot but imagine some occasion of the delay, may have been a desire in them here to interpose some time between the receipt of my last *Friday's* letter and of this paquet, to the end his Majesty may in the mean time have dispatched his orders to me about the provisional articles, though I cannot think they should be of such moment inserted or omitted to either side.

I now dispatch the inclosed copies of the treaty, in order to his Majesty's ratification, which 'tis generally desired may be returned as sudden as possibly; the *States* having undertaken to have theirs ready fifteen days after the signing, and, believing it necessary to proceed jointly and early, to the mutual councils of arming, in case *France* continues the dispositions they seem to be in at present of pursuing the war.

My brother, who will deliver this despatch to your Lordship, is able to add what particular circumstances I may have omitted, or your Lordship shall think fit to enquire from this place; and what he fails, Count *Dona* will supply, who is a person well worth your Lordship's particular acquaintance and assistance in his negotiations, or at least the forms and entrances of them, being, in all points, our friend.

Yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador received the communication of our treaties from Monsieur *de Witt* and me, with some descants upon the hardship of it, but, I believe, satisfaction at heart. I have this day written at large, and with all the instance imaginable, to the

the Marquis de Castel Rodrigo to induce his consent, and immediately upon the ratifications, shall away and pursue that point at *Brussels*.

I cannot but rejoice in particular with your Lordship, upon the success of this affair, having observed in your Lordship, as well as my *Lord Keeper*, a constant steady bent, in supporting his Majesty's resolution, which is here so generally applauded as the happiest and wisest, that any Prince ever took for himself or his neighbours: what in earnest I hear every hour, and from all hands of that kind is endless, and even extravagant. God of heaven send his Majesty's councils to run on the same course; and I have nothing left to wish, since I know your Lordship will continue to esteem me what I am with so great passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, *Lord Keeper*.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 27. N. S. 1668.

THOUGH I know my long dispatch by this express to my *Lord Arlington* will give your Lordship your share of trouble, yet I could not omit the encharging my brother with a particular attendance upon your Lordship from me, nor accompanying him with these acknowledgments of your Lordship's great favour and good opinion, even before I had the honour of being known to you. I will presume I have done nothing since to forfeit them, as I had nothing before to deserve them; and that my late good fortunes at the *Hague*, will help to continue what my good fortunes alone at *Brussels* began, and my five days stay at *London*, served to improve in so great a degree. Yet

I will assure your Lordship, if I can make any farther advance by the resentments of your favour, by my desires to deserve it in the return of my best services, or by the true honour and esteem of those qualities I have discovered in your Lordship, upon so short an acquaintance; I am very far upon my way already.

But I will leave this subject in the first place, to congratulate with you upon another; which is the success of a council, wherein I observed your Lordship and my Lord *Arlington* to have the most steady bent, in promoting a resolution of his Majesty's, which is on this side the water esteemed generally the happiest and the wisest that could ever have been taken by any Prince in such a conjuncture, and upon respects not only of his own affairs, but even those of all *Christianity* besides. It is not fit for me to tell you much of what I hear of this kind, or the applauses given to his Majesty and his Ministers upon this occasion: to tell you all, I am sure, would be endless; but from what I hear, I cannot but raise at least a happy preface of a new year, and a new ministry's running on together, with a succession of the same honour and good fortunes both to his Majesty and his kingdoms.

In the next place, I will, according to your orders, give your Lordship an account of some particulars that fell into this great transaction, which I thought not fit to trouble my Lord *Arlington* with, as not perhaps proper, or of weight enough, for the view of his Majesty or the foreign committee, and yet worth the knowledge or reflexion of some of his Ministers, in order to the conduct of his Majesty's councils hereafter, both in this and other of his affairs.

I must tell your Lordship, that in my first conference with Monsieur *de Witt* since my return, I begun with telling him, that he could not but remember, when I passed this way last into *England*, I told him,
upon

upon what points his Majesty desired, with the greatest secrecy that could be, to know his opinion, and by that to guess at what might be the *States*, upon the present conjuncture of affairs in *Flanders*; to the end his Majesty might accordingly take his own measures. That his Majesty guessed, by the general carriage and discourses of the *Dutch* Ambassadors at *London*, the *States* were not willing to see *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but could not find they had any thing positive to say to him upon that subject: that he had therefore sent me privately and plainly to tell him his mind upon it, as to a man of honour, and who he believed would make no ill use of it, and (if he thought fit) to know his sentiments upon that affair. That for his Majesty, he neither thought it for his own interest nor safety, nor for that of the *States*, or of *Christendom* in general, that *Flanders* should be lost; and therefore was resolved to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the *States* were of the same mind, and that it might be done in conjunction between them; and to that end desired to know, whether the *States* would be content to enter into an alliance with him, both defensive between themselves, and offensive against *France*, for the preservation of *Flanders*. That he (*Monsieur de Witt*) might remember, his answer to me was; first, much applause of his Majesty's resolution, great acknowledgment of his confidence towards him by that communication, much assurance that the *States* would be of the same mind, as to the preservation of *Flanders*, which was their nearest interest next their own: that he found both his Majesty and the *States* had the same mind, as well as interest in this matter, but that the distrusts remaining upon the late quarrel between them, had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly upon it. But since his Majesty had pleased to break it to him in a manner so obliging, though he could not pretend to tell me his master's mind,

mind, yet he would his own: which was, that the defence of *Flanders* was absolutely necessary, but that it ought to be tryed first, rather by a joint mediation of a peace between the two Crowns, than by a declaration of war; but that if the first would not serve, it ought to come to the other. That I knew *France* had already offered a peace to the offices made by the *States* upon an alternative at the choice of the *Spaniards*; that he thought our mediation ought to be offered to both Crowns upon that foot, to induce *France* to make good their own offer, and *Spain* to accept it. And that to this purpose he thought it very necessary to make a strict alliance between his Majesty and the *States*.

That for making an offensive alliance, it could not be; for it was a maxim observed by this *State*, never to make any, at least when they were in peace; that for defensive leagues, they had them with many Princes, and he believed would be ready to enter into one with his Majesty; and, though he could not at all answer what would be the mind of the *States* upon these points, yet he had told me his; and would add, that he was not usually mistaken in theirs, and that he would at least use all his endeavours to bring the *States* to such opinions and resolutions.

When I had said this, and observed by his action and face that he assented to this recital of all that had passed between us; I asked him whether this was all right, that I might know whether I had mistaken nothing in representing his Majesty's meaning to him, nor his to his Majesty. He answered, that it was all right, and that he very well remembered it, and much commended a method of proceeding so exact and sincere, by an endeavour to avoid all mistakes between us.

I then told him, that I had, upon my arrival in *England*, represented all as faithfully to his Majesty as

I had done to him; and that upon it his Majesty had taken so much confidence in his (*Monsieur de Witt's*) opinion and judgment, as well as in his credit with the *States*, that he had taken a sudden and firm resolution upon it; first, to join with the *States* in the offer of a mediation between the two Crowns, and upon such terms, as they and I should agree, but with a desire, that they might be as advantageous as the *States* could be induced to, for the preservation of *Flanders*, and recovery of such places as should be most necessary to it. In the next place, to conclude a treaty, the strongest that could be between us, for obliging *France* to accept the peace upon those terms, and in the mean time for putting a stop to the course of their arms in *Flanders*. But that his Majesty thought it necessary to begin all this, with a strict league between him and the *States*, for their own mutual defence, and to this purpose had sent me over as his Envoy to the *States* with full powers, and the draught of a defensive league between us; but refers the rest for what touched *Flanders*, to what the *States* and I should agree.

Monsieur de Witt received this discourse with a countenance pleased, but yet, as I marked, something surprised, as if he expected not a return from his Majesty so sudden and so resolute. He said, that the *States* would be much pleased with the honour his Majesty did them, and the overture he made them; that I should chuse my time, whenever I desired it, for my audience; and would pass the forms of demanding it from the President of the week: that he was still confident the *States* would enter with his Majesty into the mediation, though *France* gave them hopes of succeeding by their own: that the Provinces differed in opinion upon what terms the peace should be made: that *Utrecht* was so bold as to think nothing but justice ought to be considered in the case; that all that *France* had

had conquered should be restored to *Spain*, and their pretensions be referred to judgment or arbitrage. But *Holland*, with most of the other Provinces, were of another mind, and considering their own present condition, as well as that of *France*, thought it best to keep the *French* to their own offer; but he believed would come to means of more force if *France* should recede from what they themselves had advanced to the *States*. That, for the defensive league between us, he did not know whether the late sore were yet fit for such an application, but would try the mind of the *States*. That he doubted they would think it like to prove too sudden a change of all their interests, and that which would absolutely break them off from so old and constant a friend as *France*, to rely wholly upon so new and uncertain a friend, as *England* had proved.

I told him, that the doing what he said, would be the effect of any treaties of this nature between us, let them be as tenderly handled and composed as we could: that *France* would take it as ill of us and of them, to be stopped in the remaining conquest of *Flanders*, as to be forced out of all they had already gained: that he knew very well, it had been long their design at any price, to possess themselves of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and he knew as well that it was their interest to do so, considering the advantages it would give them over all the rest of *Christendom*; that it was as much our interest to hinder it, and that nothing could do it, but a firm conjunction between us: that the *States* part would be next after *Flanders* was gone, and therefore they had now as much need of being protected by *England* against *France*, as they thought they had three or four years ago of being protected by *France* against *England*; and that they had no other choice, but either continuing their friendship with *France*, till they should see both *Flanders* and themselves

themselves swallowed up by such a neighbour; or else change their whole measures, and enter into the strictest alliance with his Majesty for the preservation of both; and let *France* take it as they pleased.

Monfieur de Witt confessed the designs of *France* for the conquest of *Flanders*; spoke of the treaties they had made with the *States* in Cardinal *Richlieu's* time, and lately offered again, for partaging it between them; and said, he understood very well the danger of such a council and neighbourhood, or else he should have fallen into them; but the ventures were great on the other side too; that the *States* were much more exposed than the King; that the *Spaniards* were weak, and ill to be trusted by the *States*, between whom there had never yet been any better measures than barely those of the *Munster* peace, after so great rancours and long hostilities. That, though he believed the *German* Princes would be glad of what his Majesty proposed, yet he knew not how far *Sweden* might be engaged in the measures with *France*, who lay here at their backs in the duchy of *Bremen*. And last of all, though this resolution seemed now to be taken by his Majesty and his Ministers, upon the surest and wisest foundations, which were those of true interest and safety; yet no man knew how long they might last. That, if they should break all their measures with *France*, and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by such a conjunction, any change of councils in *England*, would be their certain ruin. That he knew not this present ministry, and could say nothing to them; but that he knew the last too well. Upon which he said a good deal of our uncertain conduct since his Majesty's return, and concluded that the unsteadiness of councils in *England*, seemed a fatal thing to our constitution; he would not judge from what grounds, *Mais que depuis le temps de la Reyne Elisabeth, il n'y avoit eu qu'une fluctuation perpetuelle en la conduite de l'Angleterre, avec laquelle*

laquelle on ne pouvoit jamais prendre des mesures pour deux années de temps. After this ended, with some melancholy that looked a little irresolute, I told him, that as to their own interests he knew them, and could weigh them better than I; that after my audience and first conference with Commissioners, I should quickly see how the *States* would understand them, in which I knew very well how great a part he would have: that for our danger, I confessed *they* would be first exposed to *France*, and we the last, which made it reasonable they should make the first pace to their safety. That for *Sweden* I had no orders to negotiate with them, but being fully instructed in his Majesty's general intentions, I should be glad to see them strengthened all I could; and to that purpose, if he thought fit, I would talk with the Count *de Dona* the *Swedish* Ambassador here, and see whether he had any powers to engage their Crown in any common measures for the safety of *Christianity*; that, if by such a conjunction we could extend it to a *triple-alliance* among us, upon the same foundation, I believed he would think it too strong a bar for *France* to venture on. That for the unsteadiness of our councils, I would rather bewail than defend it; but that I should not have made this journey, if I had not been confident *that* had been ended, and we now bottomed past any change or remove. That I could not pretend to know any body's mind certainly but my own; but that upon this matter I was as confident of his Majesty's, of your Lordship's, and my Lord *Arlington's*, as I was of my own. Upon this occasion I said a great deal, not only of the interests, but resentments, that had engaged his Majesty and his Ministers in this council; and concluded that I was confident it could never break, but would answer, if ever it did, it should never be by my hand, and was as confident I might answer the same for
your

your Lordship and my Lord *Arlington*, and that you would fall or stand upon this bottom.

Monsieur de Witt seemed much satisfied with what I had said; assured me for his part, he would give his hands towards a good conclusion of this affair: that he would trust his Majesty's honour and interest upon so great a conjuncture; as well as the sincereness and constancy of his Ministers, whom he could judge of by no other lights but what I gave him; made me compliments upon the great confidence he had taken in me and my manner of dealing, by what he had heard and seen of me since the first visit I made him in my passage here, after the end of the war; and concluded that I should see the Count *Dona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engaged in this affair.

I tell your Lordship all these circumstances, that, knowing where the difficulties have been, how they have been overcome, and upon what advances on my side this knot has been tied, your Lordship and my Lord *Arlington* may the better know how to support this affair, and make many others easy, by recovering the credit of our conduct in *England*, so far lost by the unsteadiness too truly laid to our charge; and at least by your own constancy, in what you have begun, make good the characters you have already in the world, and the assurances I have given *Monsieur de Witt* upon your occasion.

That evening I went to the Count *Dona*, and run over all ceremonies of our characters, by going straight into his chamber, taking a chair, and sitting down by him before he could rise out of his. I told him I hoped he would excuse the liberty upon an errand wherein I thought both our Masters were concerned; that ceremonies were intended to facilitate business, and not to hinder it; that I knew nothing to make my seeing the other Ambassadors at the *Hague* necessary, and so was content with the difficulties had

been introduced between our characters; but thinking it absolutely for my Master's service to enter into confidence with his *Excellency* upon my errand here, I had resolved to do it in this manner, and if he gave me leave, would pursue it as if our acquaintance and commerce had been of never so long a date.

The Count embraced me, gave me great thanks for the honour I did him, made me compliments upon so frank and confident a manner as I used with him; and said he was ready to return it upon any thing that I should think fit to communicate to him.

After this I entered into the detail of my whole progress to that time, both in *England* and here; of his Majesty's reasons, of the common interests of *Christendom*, of the reception my errand found from Monsieur de Witt, and the hopes I had of succeeding: of our discourses about engaging *Sweden* in the same measures, and a desire of extending our league into a triple alliance among us, for our own mutual defence, the safety of *Flanders*, and thereby of *Christendom*. That I knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late years by *France*, how close they had kept to the friendship with his Majesty, and how beneficial, as well as honourable, such a part as this might prove to them, by the particular use they might be of to the Crown of *Spain*; and that, upon any good occasion, they might be sure of his Majesty's offices and the States, who resolved to enter into this affair without any other interest than that of the preservation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own safety, and the common good.

The Count *Donu* professed to applaud his Majesty's council, to be confident that *Sweden* would be content to go his pace in all the common affairs of *Christendom*, which he was assured of by his own instructions in general; but, that such an affair as this, not being foreseen, he could have none upon it: that, if it succeeded,

succeeded, he would make all the paces he could to engage his Master in it, as what he thought of honour and advantage to the common safety: but that he would return my frankness to him with the same to me, in telling me, that he doubted my bringing it to an issue: that he first doubted Monsieur *de Witt's* resolution, to break upon any terms with *France*, and close with *England*; not only considering what had lately passed between us, but the interests of the house of *Orange*, which he must ever believe, would, at one time or other, be advanced by us; whereas he was sure to be supported against them by *France*: therefore he believed, though he would not oppose it, because the *States* and people might run into it; yet he would find some means to elude the conclusion or effect of it, without appearing himself in any such design: that, in the next place, since such a treaty could not be made by the *States General*, without first being sent to all the Provinces and towns for their approbation, and orders upon it to their deputies; he did not see how it was possible for the *French* Ambassador to fail of engaging some towns or Provinces against it, and the opposition of any one of them would lose the effect; since no new treaty could be made by the constitutions here, without an universal consent. That, however, he would not discourage me, but wish me success with all his heart, upon many reasons, and, among others, as being so much a servant to the house of *Orange*, which could not but profit by a conjunction between *England* and *Holland*: and again promised, whenever I brought it to a period, to use all his endeavours, and stretch his powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Master in the same measures with us.

In the second conference I had with Monsieur *de Witt*, I acquainted him with what had passed with Count *Dona*, which he seemed much pleased with; and said,

said, though we could not expect he should have powers so general as to conclude such an affair, yet an instrument might be drawn up between us, whereby room may be left for *Sweden* to enter as a principal into our alliance; and the Count *de Dona* had so much credit at his Court, to recommend it there so as to succeed, especially upon the hopes we must give him of obtaining subsidies from *Spain*, which might countervail what they might lose from *France* upon this occasion.

I then fell upon the form of concluding this treaty; saying, I could easily foretell the fate of it, if it must pass the common forms of being sent by the several deputies to all their principals for their result upon it: that I knew this would take up a month or six weeks time, and that nothing would be so easy as for the *French* Ambassador to meet with it in running that circle, and by engaging some one member, perhaps by money thrown among the chief persons in some of the small towns, to prevent and ruin a council of the greatest importance to *Christendom*, as well as to our two nations, that had been on foot in many ages: that unless the *States General* would conclude and sign the treaty immediately, and trust to the approbation of their several Provinces and towns after it was done, I should give it for gone, and think no more of it.

Monsieur *de Warr* seemed to think this impossible; said, no such thing had ever been done since the first institution of their commonwealth; that, though it was true, the *States General* might sign a treaty, yet they could not ratify it without recourse to their principals, and that they should venture their heads in signing it, if their principals, not approving it, should question them for doing it without orders; that he hoped the forms might be expedited in three weeks time, and that all care that could be, should be taken to prevent

went the addresses of the *French* Ambassador among the Provinces.

I cut the matter short, and told him, I continued of my first opinion, to see it immediately agreed between me and the Commissioners, and then signed by the *States*, which might be done in four or five days; and that the deputies might safely trust to the approbation of their principals in a point of so great, and evident public interest: that, for my part, I knew not how this delay, and thereby hazard, of the affair might be interpreted in *England*, nor what change in my orders it might produce: that I had now powers to conclude an alliance of the last consequence to the safety of *Flanders* and this State; that if it should miscarry by the too great caution of the deputies in point of form, for ought I knew, they might venture their heads that way, and more deservedly, than by signing at present what all of them believed, would not only be ratified, but applauded by their principals. With this I left him; and the rest that passed in the progress of this affair, as well as in my audience or with the Commissioners, your Lordship has it in my dispatch to my Lord *Arlington*, to whom you will please to communicate these more secret springs, that, by knowing the conception, the forming, the throws, and birth of this *child*, you may the better consult how it is to be nourished till it grow to strength, and thereby fit to atchieve those great adventures, for which it seems designed.

I am ever with equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble servant.

To Mr. Godolphin.

SIR, ~~London~~ Jan. 28. N. S. 1668.

THough the interruption of our commerce hath been long, yet I thought it necessary to renew it at this time, and thereby let you know what has lately broken it on my side, that you may not believe any interruption of yours has had a worse effect upon me of late, than it ever had before, being an accident I have often been subject to. About the end of last month, N. S. I passed through this place with private commission from his Majesty, to sound the mind of the States, in what concerns the present quarrel between the two Crowns, and how they were disposed to join with him in the share of a war, or project of a peace, to be endeavoured by our joint offices between them. From hence I went to London, with the private account of what I had in charge. After five days stay there, I was dispatched back, as his Majesty's Envoy extraordinary to the States, with full power, to treat and conclude upon those points which his Majesty esteemed necessary for our common safety, and the repose of Christendom, in this conjuncture. Upon the 6th I arrived here, had my first audience on the 18th, and on the 23d were signed by me, and the Commissioners given me by the States with full powers, three several instruments of our present treaty: the first containing a league defensive and perpetual between his Majesty and the States, against all persons without exception, that shall invade either of them, with agreement to furnish each other, upon occasion, with forty ships of war, of which, fourteen between sixty and eighty guns, and four hundred men a-piece, one with another; fourteen between forty and sixty guns, and three hundred men a-piece; and of the other twelve, none under thirty six guns, and a hundred and fifty men; besides this, with six thousand foot,

foot, and four hundred horse, or money instead of them, at the choice of the invaded, and to be repaid within three years after the end of the war; the proportions of money to the several parts of the said aid, being ascertained in the treaty.

The second instrument contains our joint obligations to dispose *France* to make peace in *Flanders*, upon one of the alternatives already proposed; and likewise to dispose *Spain* to accept it, before the end of *May*; but in case of difficulty made by them, to dispose *France*, however, to stop all farther progress of its own arms there, and leave it wholly to the allies to procure the ends proposed in this league.

The third instrument contains certain separate articles between his Majesty and the States, signed at the same time, and of the same force with the treaty, but not to be committed to letters.

It is hardly imaginable, the joy and wonder conceived here, upon the conclusion of this treaty, brought to an issue in five days, nor the applause given to his Majesty's resolution, as the wisest and happiest that could, in this conjuncture, be taken by any Prince, both for his own and his neighbours affairs; nor are the reflexions upon the conduct of it less to the advantage of the present ministry in *England*; the thing being almost done here as soon as my journey was known in *London*, and before my errand was suspected by any public Minister there.

Three days after our signing, the *Swedish* Ambassador signed another instrument jointly with me and the States Commissioners, obliging his Master to enter as a principal into the same alliance, so soon as some pretensions he has from the *Emperor* and *Spain* are satisfied by our good offices between them. After which Count *Dona* parted as Ambassador likewise from that Crown for *England*, where the rest of that affair will be negotiated; and in his company my brother *Henry Temple*,
with

with the whole account of my business, and the treaties signed in order to their ratification, for which a month is allowed, though the States promise theirs within fifteen days after the date. When those arrive and are exchanged, I return to my residence at *Brussels*, to see the issue of this business, which now takes up the thoughts and discourse of all Christendom, and from which most Princes will resolve to take their measures.

I suppose my Lord *Sandwich* upon his way, and therefore content myself only with giving you this trouble, and the professions of my being,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To the KING.

Hague, Jan. 29. N. S. 1668.

May it please your Majesty,

IN my last passage hither, I had the honour of trying your Majesty's yacht, in such a storm as that never felt before, and, a greater, no man in her pretended ever to have seen. The fortune of your Majesty's affairs helped us to the discovery of a pilot boat at a distance from the coasts, that brought us happily in; without which, we had passed such another night at sea, as I should not care to do for any thing your Majesty could give me, besides your favour, and the occasions of serving you: if we had miscarried, your Majesty had lost an honest diligent Captain and sixteen poor seamen, so beaten out with wet and toil, that the compassion I had then for them, I have still about me, and assure your Majesty, that five or six more will be necessary for your yacht, if you use her to such passa-

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ges as as this; but for the rest, I believe there is not such a boat in the world. She returns with a long but final and happy account of my business to my Lord *Arlington*, and with the Count *de Dona*, who will be better company than a long ill letter, and deserves your Majesty's welcome by his other qualities, as well as his particular devotions for your Majesty's person and service.

I cannot end this letter without congratulating with your Majesty upon the success of your resolution, which occasioned my journey hither, and which is generally applauded here as the wisest and happiest, both for your kingdoms and your neighbours, and the most honourable to your Majesty's person, that ever was taken, upon any occasion, by any Prince: and the strange success of it, hath been answerable to the rest of your Majesty's fortunes, and so amazing, that the expressions made of it here every hour, are altogether extraordinary, not to say extravagant.

God of heaven continue your Majesty's good health, and good councils, and good fortunes; and then I shall have nothing more to wish, but that you may pardon the faults, and accept of the humble and hearty devotions of,

S I R,

Your Majesty's most loyal,

and most obedient,

subject and servant,

To Monsieur Gourville:

A Monsieur de Gourville.

Hague, Feb. 7.

De la Haye, 7 Fevr.

N. S. 1668.

S. N. 1668.

I Have just received (by the
Rhingrave's favour) yours
VOL. III.

J E viens de recevoir par les
soins obligeans de Monfi-
R eur

of the 28th past, and am extreme glad to have yet some place in your memory, after so many diversions in Germany, which use to make one forget things of much greater importance. But all this was necessary to comfort me for your absence, which I believe you have ordered, with design for all my journeys into Holland; this is now the third I have made since that of Breda, without ever meeting you there; you, I say, who are not able to live three months without going thither, though you are forced for it to leave the Ladies and the orange trees at Brussels.

I can tell you no news; the Duke of Lunenburg's Resident having assured me that he has sent you word of the conclusion of our treaty here, whereof I every day expect the ratifications. They will needs have me pass here for one of great abilities, for having finished and signed in five days a treaty of such importance to Christendom: but I will tell you the secret of it: to draw things out of their center, requires labour and address to put them into motion; but to make them return thither, nature helps so far, that there needs no more than just to set

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eur le Rhingrave, votre lettre du 28 du passé; & je me rejouis extrêmement d'occuper encore quelque place dans votre souvenir, après tant de divertissemens goutez en Allemagne, ce ne seroit pas la première fois qu'ils auroient fait oublier des choses plus importantes que ma personne: mais il ne falloit pas moins que les plaisirs que je sçay que vous avez goutez, & la nouvelle marque que vous me donez de votre amitié, pour me consoler de votre absence; je croy au reste que vous l'aviez concertée avec tous mes voyages en Hollande; car voici le troisième que j'y fais depuis celui de Breda, sans vous y trouver, vous dis je, qui ne pouviez passer trois mois sans y aller, quand même il auroit fallu pour cela quitter vos orangers & les mignonnes de Bruxelles.

Je n'ay point de nouvelles à vous mander; le Resident de Lunebourg m'ayant assuré qu'il vous avoit appris la conclusion du traité que nous avons fait icy: j'attens de jour en jour les ratifications. On veut à toute force me faire passer icy pour habile homme, à cause que j'ay achevé & signé en cinq jours un traité si important pour toute la Chrétienté: mais je vous diray le secret; quand on arrache les choses de leur centre, il faut du tems & de la peine, & même de l'adresse pour les faire mouvoir; mais lors qu'il n'est question que de les y remener, la nature y ayde si puissamment, qu'il

them agoing. Now, I think, a strict alliance is the true center of our two nations. There was also another accident, which contributed very much to this affair, and that was, a great confidence arisen between the Pensioner and me; he is extremely pleased with me, and my sincere open way of dealing; and I with all the reason in the world am infinitely pleased with him upon the same score; and look on him as one of the greatest genius's I have known, as a man of honour, and the most easy in conversation, as well as in business. In short, the two nations are closer united than if there never had been a war. For affairs in general I can tell you nothing, but that our common design is to give peace to all Christendom, so that if France pleases they may have it this spring; if not, (as Monsieur d'Estrades says, at least not after our fashion) they may have their fill of the war. For the convention at Aix, I can tell you nothing till we get an answer from France and Brussels, where we have already sent advice of our defensive league, and of our treaty or project of the peace.

ne faut quasi que leur donner le branle: or, je croy qu'une étroite alliance est le centre de nos deux nations. Il y a encore un accident qui a fort contribué a cette affaire; c'est la parfaite confiance qui nous a reciproquement uni, Monsieur le Pensionnaire & moy: il se loue de moy & de ma maniere d'agir, qui comme vous savez, est toujours franche & ouverte; & moy, je me loue infiniment de luy; j'en ay toutes les raisons du monde, & je dois à toute sa conduite les eloges qu'il donne à la mienne: je le regarde comme un des plus grand genies que j'ay connus, avec cela, très homme de bien; d'un commerce également aisé soit dans les negociations, soit dans la conversation. Enfin la confiance est presentement retablie entre les deux nations; & je la croy même plus entiere que s'il n'y avoit jamais eu de guerre. Pour les affaires generales, je ne vous saurois dire autre chose, si non, que notre dessein unanime est de donner la paix & la tranquillité à toute la Chrétienté; de sorte que si la France le veut, elle l'aura ce printems; si elle ne le veut pas (ainsi que dit Monsieur le Comte d'Estrades, qui ajoute, que du moins ce ne sera pas d'une paix de notre façon) elle aura tout son saoul de guerre. Touchant la convention à Aix jusqu'à ce que nous ayons response de France & de Brusselles, je ne vous en saurois rien dire. Nous leur

This

avons

This at least may serve for a new health at your German feasts when the old ones are gone round; and will at the same time help to put you in mind of,

SIR,

Your, &c.

avons déjà donné avis de notre ligue défensive, & de notre traité ou projet de paix.

Du moins cecy servira a fournir une nouvelle santé dans vos festins Allemands, lors que les anciennes auront fait leur rond accoutumée; & cela vous fera en même tems souvenir de,

Monsieur

Votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb, 12. N. S. 1668.

THE arrival of the ratifications here was received with the same dispositions of general satisfaction and joy, that the treaty was concluded: those of the *States* will, I doubt, be something later ready, though occasioned only by a delay in the assembly of the *States* of *Friezeland* and *Zealand*; but new dispatches were yesterday sent away for hastening both; and Monsieur de *Witt* assures me, the 20th of this month will be the latest I shall expect them, and he hopes all may be ready something sooner. I shall press it all I can possibly, and, immediately after the exchange made, shall demand my audience of *Congé*, and away to *Brussels* to pursue his Majesty's instructions there. I cannot tell with what success, because I know not with what mien the *Marquis* has entertained our project of the peace, nor yet having heard one word from him in answer to all I have writ upon this subject. I wish some of his visions may not give it another face than what it ought, I am sure, to receive from the true present state of the *Spanish* affairs; for, in that case, I know his way of arguing so well, as to expect

he should say there is no reason for them to give money to lose their towns; but that, in case his Majesty will enter into their defence, he shall want no money the *Indies* can give him; therefore he must be plied on that side by the Count of *Molina* and Baron de l'*Isla*, as well as by me here; and not only disposed to accept the alternative, but to receive it as the greatest effect at present of his Majesty's good will to the preservation of *Flanders*, and step towards a future defensive league between us and them, and *Holland*, for the general safety of the *Spanish* Crown.

Though I shall not fail of my part in pressing all these points on this side, yet the impressions will be easier given the two Ministers there than the *Marquis* here, as persons something more substantial in their conceptions upon this point; and will have more weight upon his Excellency, coming from their own Ministers, than from me: for the point of money to be furnished by the *States* upon the towns of *Gelderland*, the whole matter was dismissed by Monsieur de *Witt* till the *Marquis*'s acceptance of our project was declared; upon which the Baron de *Bargeyck* will return to pursue it, and, in case of a war, by obstinacy of the *French* refusal, I doubt not but the matter will be easy, the *Marquis* offering *Ruremond* and *Venlo*, though Monsieur de *Witt* insists, as yet, upon the fort of *Getre*, and two others by *Sluys*, which the *Marquis* says he has no power to treat upon.

For their opinion of the *French* expedition into the *Franche Comté* they seem little startled at it, believing it may the more incline the *Spaniards* to receive our offices for the peace according to the treaty; and that possibly some exchange may be found convenient for the *Spaniards* between parts of the *Franche Comté* and those towns of *Flanders* which are now in the *French* possession, and lie in the very bowels of the rest of that dominion; which are *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Oudenard*,
and

and *Aeth*; for the rest, they resolve to make good the peace to the *Spaniards*, without the loss of any thing more, than was actually in the *French* hands at the time of our treaty being signed, whatever new progresses they may make before the conclusion; and in case *France* shall refuse, or seek evasions, I do not believe they will be the least backward from entering into the war.

I should formerly have marked that, all which is digested in our treaty; and that is to pass in our negotiation with *France* upon this occasion, that the *States* avoid calling our parts a *mediation*; because they say *that* seems to import a neutrality, whereas, upon failing of our offices towards a peace, we are to take our parts in a war.

For the method and manner of our joining together in pursuit of the war, if it grow to engage us by the *French* refusal, Monsieur *de Witt* tells me frankly his opinion is, for us to enforce the towns of *Flanders* by such of our troops as will be necessary to defend them, or at least to draw on long and expensive sieges, and, in the mean time, with our several fleets, to make the sharpest impressions we can upon some of their coasts, and seize some of their towns, and force them that way to necessary divisions and diversions of their forces, as well as give countenance to whatever discontents may arise among them at home, upon such an occasion. Upon my arguing that an impression would be the sharper and the safer, perhaps if it were made by our fleets in one place, but with joint forces; he said, he did not see how our fleets could possibly join, for the point of the *pavilion*; and fell into a good deal of discourse upon that matter, as the only, now left, that could ever occasion any dispute among us; being, at length, bottomed upon our mutual interest, and the wrangling about little points of commerce being taken away. All I could draw from him upon the point of
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the *pavilion* was, that they would give all to the King's ships at sea, which theirs or any other Ambassadors gave to his own person in his kingdom, where his dominion was as absolute as he could pretend it to be, in the narrow seas; which is, to *uncover* first, and *cover* last; so that all their ships should vail to ours when they met, in case ours would in return take down the *pavilion* as a civility to theirs afterwards, and theirs should remain vailed, till we had set up our *pavilion* again. I told him I could say nothing to that matter, which I knew was very delicate; but that, if ever we agreed in that point, I thought it must not be by articles or treaties, but by concert between the Ministers of each side; as for the *States*, first to give absolute orders to all their Captains to vail to the King's ships, whenever they met them in the narrow seas; and, at the same time, to signify so much to his Majesty in a letter of compliment, and, as a resolution taken upon consideration of so near and happy an alliance, as was now entered into between the nations: upon which his Majesty might consider, what returns of civility he would be content his Captains should make an ally so near, as this *State* was now likely ever to be to the Crown of *England*.

Monfieur *de Witt* was willing to fall into any expedient, and said, that, whenever I came into *England*, he would hope I might bring this last matter to pass, as happily as I had done all the rest. That his Majesty should find he would be wanting in nothing that the point of civility or deference might require in this matter, provided it were without acknowledging our pretensions to the dominion of the sea, which they must die rather than do; but, in what should pass, they would leave us to our interpretations, and keep themselves to theirs.

For the provisional articles according to my word, which made way for the treaty's conclusion, I told

Monfieur

Monſieur de Witt his Maſteſty had in his answer given me leave to do it, with an article for the meeting of Commissioners at both parties deſire, to complete what ſhould be defective, and change what ſhould be found inconvenient, and cut off any thing that ſhould be ſuperfluous, ſo as it might appear to be an original treaty between us, which would be more for our honour than to copy after the *French*: that though his Maſteſty had given me this leave, in compliance to the *States*, yet he had rather the thing ſhould now be left to Commissioners for theſe ends, than concluded with reference to them hereafter. I made his Maſteſty's conceſſion in this point eaſy for theſe two ends; that either they finding his Maſteſty indifferent in it, might grow ſo too; men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faſter another holds: or elſe (if they reſolved to inſiſt upon it, ſince I was already engaged) to value a thing which coſts his Maſteſty nothing, for as much obligation as I could to the *States*, which might make way for ſome material return upon another occaſion.

- Monſieur de Witt ſeemed very much pleaſed at his Maſteſty's compliance with them in this point; and ſaid, if I knew his Maſteſty's pleaſure in any particulars which he deſired ſhould be added, or any others changed for common convenience, he deſired me to tell him, and doubted not but we ſhould end it in twenty four hours; but he was unwilling it ſhould fall into other hands, or remain undone, for the reaſons I mentioned in one of my laſt. After much diſcourſe, and no way left to avoid the thing, we agreed it ſhould be done, but with an ample article for the meeting of Commissioners for thoſe foreſaid ends; and after the perpetuity, I will endeavour to get in theſe words, *Aut quouſque ſaltem ex utriuſque partis conſenſu indicentur commiſſarii*, or ſome words to that purpoſe. And likewise in the preamble of this ſeparate inſtrument,

ſome

some expressions of this kind; *Ut omnibus innotescat quam sincerâ sanctâque fide nuper contractæ amicitia, non modo in præsens, sed in posteros, colenda cavere voluerunt:* and, *ad divellenda penitus quæcunque non modo dissensionum, sed et litium et altercationum semina:* and, *ad præcidendam spem omnem, et expectationem, quorumcunque, prædictam amicitiam novis altercationibus labefactatam iri, interesse possit.* Which are things that come now only

into my head, but shall be digested against we meet to morrow upon this occasion. And this is all that is possible for me to do in this matter, and which at least is likely to hasten the exchange of the ratifications, and to leave our alliance the clearest, firmest, and most confident, that can be. I confess I am troubled that it cannot be otherwise, because your Lordship says, his Majesty would rather have had it so: and if you had not sent me, after the treaty's arrival, an explanation of what was written to me, in an unintelligible cypher, it had been so, and my words had been safe; but I think it had been worse in leaving a dissatisfaction between us, which is now avoided: and I find my Lord Keeper in a letter to me, seems to put no weight upon it, if done in the manner mentioned; and I know you both put a great deal upon any person's (employed by his Majesty) being, and passing for, an honest man.

No post going from hence till the end of the week, I have resolved to dispatch this by the yacht that brought over my brother, whose orders it seems are to return immediately: but I know not how to find the safe conveyance for the *Dutch* ratifications, unless another yacht be sent for them about a week or ten days hence; and to that end I shall leave them with Mr. Carter at my Lord Craven's house here, and who does all his Lordship's business, who shall deliver them to any person that brings a letter from your Lordship to that purpose. This, I think will be much better,

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138 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

than to venture them with me in my journey to *Brussels*, or upon a passage from thence.

I am ever with,

My Lord,

Yours, &c.

P. S. I had forgot the mention of this inclosed memorial, given in yesterday to the *States*, and by their order sent me with a compliment, *They would receive nothing without communicating it to me*: they resolve upon the *Marquis's* answer for the treating at *Aix*, to send likewise thither, but refer the qualities or number of persons to the *Marquis's* intentions of going himself, or sending some delegate; and that I suppose will depend upon *Don Juan's* coming over. In the mean time, the *States* are absolutely of opinion with me, that no treaty can begin with good intentions on the *French* side; unless they consent to a suspension of arms while it lasts; and therefore, that the force of our joint instances at *Paris*, is to be put upon that point.

To Sir Orlando Bridgman, Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Hague, Feb, 12. N. S. 1668.*

I Received by my brother the honour of your Lordship's, and therein the testimony of your favour to me, in a manner so obliging, and indeed altogether extraordinary, that I know as little how to acknowledge, as to deserve it; and therefore I shall not enlarge myself upon a subject, where I am sure not to succeed as I desire; but leave it to time, and the constancy of my services, to express how very sensible I am of what I owe, and how great a value I place upon that part your Lordship is pleased to allow me in your good opinion and memory, of which I beg the continuance,

continuance, esteeming them among the very best of my possessions.

I have written to my Lord *Arlington* at large, upon the confidence of this safe conveyance by the return of the yacht, which will give your Lordship your share of trouble, but withal, a full prospect of the dispositions here, and consequently the present as well as future estate of our alliance, if it be pursued with the same directness it has been contracted; and the happy continuance whereof, I am perfectly of your Lordship's mind, is the true interest of both nations, and will be the surest support of his Majesty's honour, and the kingdom's safety, as well as satisfaction. The expression your Lordship pleases to make, of endeavouring, in your station, the inviolable observation of it, I shall value, before I part, to Monsieur *de Witt* and the other Commissioners, as it deserves, which will be easy to do: for I dare say very truly, that the general opinion conceived here, of your Lordship's and my Lord *Arlington's* honour and sincerity, and unbiassed pursuit of the true interest of the kingdom, has very much contributed to the success of my late negotiation, and been indeed the spring of any honour, that your Lordship or any others may attribute to me in the conduct of it.

It will not become me to take no notice of those repeated offers your Lordship pleases to make, in a fashion so extremely obliging, to favour me in any of my own concerns; and therefore I shall humbly recommend to you the countenancing my wife in her pursuing the payment of my ordinary allowances while I am abroad; since the narrowness of my own fortunes (while it pleases God to continue my father's life to us) will not suffer me to serve his Majesty without troubling him, as I am forced to do, whenever five or six months of my ordinaries are grown in arrears. Therefore upon your Lordship's engagement, I will tell my wife,

wife, she may beg your countenance to her when she begins her next pursuit of that kind ; and, that you may the more confidently own your favouring me in this point, I will assure your Lordship, his Majesty shall never be troubled with any pursuits of mine, farther than what he has pleased to make my due, by any ordinary establishment, though lower than that of a much cheaper country, as I am informed ; but that is very indifferent to me ; for I am perfectly content to live just in the posture his Majesty thinks fit I should, while I serve him ; and very willing to spend his allowance and my own revenue, but no more ; which is the plain truth of my story. And, I doubt, now the funds at *Antwerp* fail, out of which I have been hitherto paid by my Lord *Arlington's* favour to me, something against the Commissioners inclination, I may find longer attendances upon the Exchequer, for that is grown or growing due, than my occasions will suffer, which makes me use this liberty to your Lordship ; though I should not have done it had you not now twice, and of yourself, encouraged me.

For the obliging message my brother brought me likewise from your Lordship's favour to me, besides my acknowledgments, I shall only say that * what your Lordship pleased to mention, would be as agreeable to my inclinations as any thing I know ; but I shall never presume to ask any thing of that kind from his Majesty, no more than of any other, referring my station, and every thing else, wholly to his pleasure and choice, while I have the honour of serving him : besides, I find every body here and in *Flanders* designs another post for me, at least for a month or two this spring, if the treaty happens to be at *Am* ; believing, that having had so much part in what has been done already, I am likely to have some part in that too : and I confess, because people are fallen into this thought,

* It was that he should be Secretary of State.

I may take the contrary for a mark of his Majesty's not being satisfied with me in what is past; and because I am by advance instructed in the business, and acquainted with persons, I should be very well pleased with it, if his Majesty finds none to serve him better, especially if, by the *Marquis's* going thither himself, his Majesty should find it fit to send a person of great quality to maintain the port of the employment, and give me my part under his shade.

I am ashamed to have said all this of myself and my concernments; and beseech your Lordship to remember, that you have drawn it all from me; and after that, to forget it all if you please. For, to say the truth, I am very well as I am, being of so dull a complexion, that I do not remember any station or condition of life I have been in these dozen years, which I have not been pleased with, and a little unwilling to leave. However, what thoughts of this kind your Lordship shall have of me, I desire you will please to communicate them to my Lord *Arlington*, to whose favour I have been long obliged: and whatever your two Lordships shall think fit in my disposal, will be ever perfectly welcome to,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 13. N. S. 1668.

SINCE the writing of your Lordship's letter, and the sealing up of my Lord *Arlington's* pacquet, I have been so far pressed by Monsieur *de Witt*, to send him the article for meeting Commissioners, I desired might be added to the provisional articles in a new instrument, that I have been fain to digest it as well

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as I could, according to my Lord *Arlington's* instructions, and your Lordship's since given me in your letter. I thought fit likewise to draw up a preamble to it, whereby it might appear, that the intention of this agreement was only an effect of our mutual kindness, and for prevention of any disputes that might possibly arise to interrupt it, and for cutting off all our enemies hopes ever to see us any more make way for their ends by our future dissension. I will send your Lordship a copy on the other side of this sheet, of both preamble and article, which I have been forced to draw up as hastily as I could; and hope, if Monsieur *de Witt* thinks fit to pass it in this form, it will be in all points of more honour and advantage to us, even than to have had it all omitted. I desire your Lordship to communicate all this to my Lord *Arlington*, and to excuse this trouble, by reason of his Lordship's packet being already sealed up.

I am ever, &c.

Procemium tractatus inter *Anglos* et *Hollandos*,
Feb. 13. 1668.

Quandoquidem, annuente divinâ gratiâ, et conspirante mutuarum rerum salute, æquè ac christiani orbis jam temporis necessitate, vigesimo tertio die Januarii proximè elapsi, inter serenissimum — et — conclusum et signatum sit fœdus perpetuum defensivum, fortissimis utrinque tam mari quam terrâ præstandis auxiliis communitum. Eodemque die alioque instrumento, de rerum vicinarum tranquillitate, paceque orbi christiano restituendâ, inter prædictum — et — prout animis consultum et conventum fuerit, adeoque nihil aliud protinus superesse videatur, quod tam mutuâ voluntate conflata amicitiam et necessitudinem ullo demùm tempore interpellare poterit, præter controversias de mercimoniorum speciebus hinc
inde

inde redigendis forsitan oritur, et ex incertâ vel ambigüâ ejusmodi rerum utrinque adjudicatione forsitan etiam promovendis. Quo autem omnibus innotescat quâ sincerâ sanctâque fide prædictus — et — nuper constat amicitiæ non modò in præsens sed et ad posteros colendæ caverè voluerint, jamdemum ad divellenda quæcunque non modò dissensionum sed vel altercationum semina, præcidendamque penitus eorum spem aut expectationem quorumcunque demùm prædictam amicitiam novis litibus concussam aut labefactatam iri interesse poterit: in subsequentes articulos utrinque conventum est, qui pro normâ et regulâ ejusmodi rerum maritimarum et mercaturæ hinc inde redigendæ mutuò et perpetuò observabuntur, aut quousque saltem ex utriusque partis arbitrio et consensu Commissarii indicentur et conveniant, ad uberiores eis de rebus omnibus navigationisque legibus tractatum, et communi utrinque commodo et ulteriore experientiâ dirigendum.

Sequuntur articuli.

Conclusio.

CUM autem rerum omnium et conventionum commoda aut incommoda non nisi tractu temporis mutuèque experientiæ documentis penitus indagari poterunt; conventum itaque est ut quocunque demùm tempore utrique parti id visum fuerit, ex communi consensu indici et convenire poterunt utrinque delegati Commissarii, quorum curæ erit et operis quodcunque in suprâ memoratis articulis defecisse reperiatur, supplere, quodcunque autem incongruum et utrinque incommodum, mutare aut circumscribere, et uberiores demùm hisce de rebus omnibus tractatum absolvere prorsus et perlimare.

*To the States at first audience.**High and Mighty Lords,*

WHereas his Majesty of *Great Britain*, the King my Master, hath already found the good effects of the late peace, concluded at *Breda* with your *High and Mighty Lordships*, by the general satisfaction of his Majesty's subjects, as well as his own, and doubts not but your Lordships have likewise found the same effects among your people in general, as well as among yourselves: his Majesty esteems nothing more likely to increase the mutual satisfaction, nor to assure the safety of both nations, than an increase of the confidence and friendship already contracted between his Majesty and your Lordships, by a stricter and firmer alliance at this time.

And, whereas his Majesty contented with those great and powerful kingdoms and dominions, which Almighty God has given him by an undisputed succession, covets nothing from his neighbours, nor has other thoughts or wishes, besides those of the common peace and repose of *Christendom*; his Majesty finds himself, in this conjuncture, sensibly touched by the calamities so many others are like to feel, from the continuance of the war lately broken out between the neighbour Crowns, and which, in course of time, cannot but involve most of the Princes and States of *Christendom*, unless the flame be quenched before it rise too high. And his Majesty believes, that nothing can so much contribute towards a safe and sudden composition of that quarrel, nor consequently restore the peace of *Christendom*, as a joint mediation of his Majesty with your *High and Mighty Lordships* (together with each others allies) between the two Crowns, now in war.

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Upon these two considerations, his Majesty hath thought fit, to send me to your Lordships with full powers to treat and conclude, upon what shall be found necessary, between his Majesty and your Lordships, in the adjustment of all matters tending to these great ends. And since nothing can bring these negotiations to be of effect, so much as the suddenness of their conclusion, I desire your Lordships to appoint such Commissioners as you shall think fit, with whom I may fall upon the treaty of these matters, and to whom I am ready to expose the full powers which his Majesty, the King my Master, has given me upon this occasion.

*At my Audience of Leave
to the States General.*

High and Mighty Lords,

HIS Majesty of Great Britain the King my master, having seen so happily finished, and in so few days, three several treaties with your High and Mighty Lordships; by which the common security of both nations is established, the seeds of all new differences entirely rooted out, and the way laid open to the peace of Christendom, in case our neighbours proceed with the same good faith, wherewith we have begun: his Majesty thinks he has no farther occasion for my services here, because Ministers are only proper for fastening and cementing a confidence and friendship; whereas ours is so firmly established,

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*A mon Audience de congé
aux Estats Generaux.*

Hauts et Puissans Seigneurs.

SA Majesté le Roy de la Grande Bretagne mon maitre, ayant vû conclurre si heureusement, & en si peu de jours, trois divers traitez avec V. H. & P. S. par lesquels la sureté commune des deux nations vient d'estre retablie; les semences de toutes les nouvelles discordes entierement deracinées, & le chemin à la paix & au repos ouvert pour la Chretienté, en cas que nos voisins s'y portent avec la même foy & la même franchise qui nous l'a déjà fait acheminer; sa Majesté croit n'avoir plus besoin de moy en ce lieu, puisque les Ministres ne servent & ne sont propres qu'à cimenter et entretenir la confiance; mais la nôtre se voit etablir sur de si solides fondemens

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as not to require any, even the most ordinary supports.

For this reason, his Majesty has ordered my return to *Brussels*, there to pursue, in concert with your Lordships, in favour of our neighbours, what we have here concluded for ourselves. But his Majesty has commanded me, upon my departure, to assure your Lordships from him, that as all things are best preserved by the same means they are begun, so his Majesty will not fail for ever to observe what he has now concluded, with the same faith, the same sincerity, and the same open heart, where-with he gave command they should be negotiated: and his Majesty doubts not at all, that your Lordships are entirely resolved to proceed after the same manner, which is the highest mark of a perfect confidence to be given at present.

For my own particular, I cannot part from hence, without expressing my satisfaction at the sincere and judicious proceeding of *Your High and Mighty Lordships* in the whole course of these negotiations; and particularly at the great prudence you have shewn in the choice of those Commissioners you gave me. Their candour and sincerity, their great capacity and application, did contribute very much to the quick and happy conclusion of our treaties. For my

demens qu'elle n'aura plus besoin des appuis ni des aides ordinaires.

C'est pourquoy sa Majesté ordonne mon retour à Bruxelles, pour y poursuivre de concert avec V. S. en faveur de nos voisins, ce que nous venons de conclurre icy pour nous mêmes: mais elle m'a commandé sur mon départ d'assurer V. S. de sa part, que comme une chose n'est jamais mieux conservée que par les Principes qui l'ont fait naître, aussi sa Majesté ne manquera pas d'observer constamment tout ce qui vient d'être conclu, & cela avec autant de bonne foy, avec la même sincérité, & la même droiture de coeur, qu'on luy a vû témoigner lors qu'elle l'a fait négotier: et sa Majesté ne doute point que V. S. ne soient entièrement résolus à tenir la même conduite à son égard; & c'est là le dernier sceau qui doit être apposé de part & d'autre à nos traités pour preuve d'une parfaite confiance.

Pour ce qui me regarde en particulier, je ne saurois sortir d'icy sans me louer hautement de la judicieuse, & sincere conduite de vos H. & P. S. dans tout le cours de cette négociation, & particulièrement de l'extreme prudence que vous avez fait paroître dans le choix de messieurs les Commissaires que vous m'avez donnés. Leur candeur, leur capacité consommée, leur ardeur, & leur application pour l'affaire proposée, n'ont pas peu contribué au bonheur & à la rapidité de

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own particular, as I shall ever bear in mind with joy and pleasure, this short space of time I have passed with your Lordships, in whatever part of the world I may be; so I shall always contribute by my good wishes, and whatever services I may be capable of, to the support of this good intelligence, so happily restored between both nations. In the mean time, God Almighty take Your High and Mighty Lordships into his holy protection.

la conclusion de nos traitez. Pour moy, comme je me souviendray, toute ma vie avec joye, & même avec tendresse du court espace de tems que j'ay passé près de V. S. aussi dans quelque lieu du monde que je sois appelé à passer ma vie, je ne négligeray jamais de contribuer par mes vœux, par toutes sortes de soins, & de services dont je me croiray capable, au maintien de cette mutuelle intelligence que je vois si heureusement rétablie entre les deux nations. Cependant je prieray Dieu ardemment de prendre vos H. & P. S. sous sa sainte protection.

A Letter from the States to the King of Great Britain.

Lettre de Récreance de la part des Estats, au Roy de la Grande Bretagne.

Feb. 18. N. S.

SIR,

IT is merely in compliance to custom, that we do ourselves the honour to write to your Majesty, in answer to the letter you were pleased to send us, relating to Sir William Temple: For we can add nothing to what your Majesty has seen yourself of his conduct, by the success of the negotiation committed to his charge. As it is a thing without example, that, in so few days, three such important treaties have been concluded: so we can say, that the address, the vigilance, and the sincerity

Le 18. de Fevr. S. N.

SIRE,

CE n'est pour satisfaire à la coutume que nous nous donnons l'honneur d'écrire à votre Majesté, en réponse de la lettre qu'il lui a plu nous écrire au sujet de Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; car nous ne pouvons rien ajouter à ce que votre Majesté même a vu de sa conduite, par le succès de la négociation qui lui avoit été confiée. Comme c'est une chose sans exemple que dans si peu de jours trois si importants traitez ont été ajustés, aussi pouvons nous dire que l'adresse, la vigilance, & la sincérité de ce Ministre sont aussi

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ty of this Minister, are also without example. We are extremely obliged to your Majesty, that you are pleased to make use of an instrument so proper for confirming that strict amity, and good intelligence, which the treaty at *Breda* had so happily begun: and we are bold to say, that, if your Majesty continues to make use of such Ministers, the knot will grow too fast, ever to be untied; and your Majesty will ever find a most particular satisfaction by it, as well as we, who, after our most hearty thanks to your Majesty for this favour, shall pray God, &c. and remain,

S I R, &c.

A Letter from Monsieur de Witt to my Lord Arlington.

Feb. 14. N. S.

My Lord, 1668.

AS it was impossible to send a Minister of greater capacity, or more proper for the temper and genius of this nation, than Sir *William Temple*; so I believe, no other person, either will, or can, more equitably judge of the disposition wherein he has found the *States* to answer the good intentions of the King of Great Britain. Sir *William Temple* ought not to be less satisfied with

sans exemple. Nous sommes bien fort obligez à V. M. de ce qu'il luy a plu se servir d'un instrument si propre à achever d'estreindre le noeud d'amitié & de bonne intelligence que le traité de Breda avoit commencé à servir: et nous osons dire, que si elle continue d'employer des semblables Ministres, le lien deviendra indissoluble, & elle en tirera toujours une satisfaction toute particulière aussi bien que nous, qui après l'avoir remercié de tout nôtre coeur de cette faveur, prions Dieu, &c.

S I R E, &c.

Monsieur de Witt à Milord Arlington.

Le 14. Fevr.

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

COMME il n'estoit pas possible d'envoyer icy un Ministre plus capable ni plus propre pour le naturel & le genie de cette nation que Monsieur le Chevalier Temple; aussi croy-je que l'on n'auroit pas pu choisir une personne qui puisse ou veuille plus equitablement juger de la disposition en laquelle il a trouvé les *Estats* à repondre aux bonnes intentions du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Il ne doit pas estre moins

with the readines wherewith the States have passed over, to the concluding and signing of those treaties for which he came hither, than they (the States) are with his conduct, and agreeable manner of dealing in the whole course of his negotiation. It appears, my Lord, that you thoroughly understand men, and bestow your friendship only upon such as deserve it, since you cause persons to be employed who acquit themselves so worthily. I think myself happy to have negotiated with him, and that, by his means, your Lordship hath been pleased to give me a new testimony of your good will. For the favour you say his Majesty is pleased to have for me; I have no otherways deserved it, than by my respects for his Royal person, whereof I shall endeavour to give proofs, upon all occasions his Majesty will please to afford me. In the mean while, I shall wait with impatience for some opportunity, to shew how sensible I am of all your Lordship's civilities, which I shall ever acknowledge, by a true esteem for your merits, and by a strong passion to let you see, that I am, with as much sincerity, as you can desire,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

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moins satisfait de la promptitude avec laquelle les Etats ont passé outre a la conclusion & signature des traitez pour lesquels il est venu icy; qu'ils sont de sa conduite, & de sa belle maniere d'agir en toute la suite de sa negotiation. Il paroît, Monsieur, que vous vous connoissez en hommes, & que vous ne donnez vôtre amitié qu'à ceux qui la meritent, puisque vous faitez employer des personnes qui s'acquittent si dignement. Je m'estime heureux d'avoir eu à negotier avec luy, & de ce que par son moyen il vous a plu me donner un nouveau temoignage de votre bienveillance. Pour ce qui est de la bonté que vous dites que sa Majesté a pour moy; je ne l'ay merité point que par le respect que j'ay pour sa personne Royale, dont je tracheray de luy donner des preuves à toutes les occasions qu'elle me fera la grace de m'en faire naître. J'attens bien avec autant d'impatience celles où je vous puisse temoigner combien je suis sensible à toutes vos civilités, que je reconnoitray toujours par un véritable estime pour vôtre mérite, & par une très fort passion de vous faire voir que je suis avec autant de sincerité que vous pouvez desirer,

Monsieur,

Votre, &c.

Factum

*The Triple Alliance copied
from the original papers.*

WHEREAS, by the late treaty concluded at *Breda*, between the King of Great Britain and the States General of the United Netherlands, both nations have been restored, through the blessing of God, to that ancient friendship and good correspondence which was between them: and in order to cut off all occasions of farther differences, and to prevent all new accidents, which might tend to the disturbance of the said amity and good correspondence of the subjects on either part, some articles and rules of navigation and commerce were there agreed; and particularly by the eleventh article of the said treaty, it was ordained, That the said King, and the said States General, shall be obliged as friends, allies, and confederates, mutually to defend the rights and immunities of each others subjects, against all such as shall endeavour to disturb the peace of either States by sea or by land, or such, as living within the dominions of either, shall be declared public enemies by the one or the other: and because it is not particularly determined, in what way and manner the said confederates stand obliged mutually to succour each other; and that

Factum tripliciter conventum.

Quandoquidem pactis non ita pridem, *Bredae* inter Magnae Britanniae Regem, & foederati Belgii Ordines generales conclusis, pristina inter utramque nationem amicitia ac bona correspondentia annuente divina gratia restituta, adeoque ad praecidendam omnem omnino in posterum novis dissidiis ansam, atque ad praeveniendam nova inter utriusque partis subditos accidentia, quae dictam amicitiam ac bonam correspondentiam turbare aliquando possint, in articulos quosdam legesque navigationis ac commerciorum ibidem consensum atque speciatim undecimo dicti tractatus articulo statutum sit, uti dictus Dominus Rex, dictique Domini Ordines Generales maneant amici confoederati necessitudine et amicitia, conjuncti et astricti, ad jura atque immunitates subditorum alterutrius contra quoscunque demum tuendas, qui utriusque status pacem terra marive disturbare conabuntur, vel qui infra alterutra dominia degentes publici utriusque status hostes denunciabuntur; neque tamen specificè definita reperiantur media, auxiliave, quibus foederatorum pars una alteri, tali in casu, succurrere debeat: dicto autem magnae Britanniae Regi, dictisque Ordinibus Generalibus sit sententia isthac pacta

that it is the fixed resolution of the said King of Great Britain, and of the said States General, more and more to corroborate and accomplish the said agreement: therefore in the first place, and above all other things, they consent to confirm the said treaty concluded at *Breda*, together with the said laws of navigation and commerce relating to the same, as by these presents they are confirmed, under a mutual and undissoluble obligation to observe and accomplish them truly and faithfully, and to command the subjects on both sides exactly and religiously to observe and fulfil them according to the genuine sense and tenor of the said treaty and articles: and for the better ascertaining the mutual assistance that the parties are to give each other, which was omitted in the preceeding treaty; for increasing amity and friendship between the said King and States General, and that full provision may be made by a nearer alliance and union, for the safety and mutual defence of both States, against the pernicious endeavours and hostile attempts of any enemy under any pretext whatever: We whose names are under written, in virtue of the orders and full powers granted to us, and hereunder to be inserted, do covenant and agree, that the said King of Great Britain

pacta corroborandi magis, magisque perficiendi, placuit imprimis atque ante omnia, dictum tractatum Bredae conclusum, dictasque leges navigationis ac commerciorum eo spectantes confirmare, quemadmodum per praesentia confirmantur, obligatione mutua atque indissolubili, eas bona fide observandi atque adimplendi, jubendique ut a subditis utrinque exactè atque religiosè observentur atque adimpleantur, juxta genuinum dicti tractatus dictorumque articulorum sensum ac tenorem. Ut autem praeterea de specialiore auxiliorum mutuò praestandorum designatione prioribus pactis omissa, pro amicitia inter dictum Dominum Regem, dictosque Dominos Ordines Generales incremento majori constet, utque securitati et defensionì mutuae utriusque status contra infestas conatus vel insultus hostiles à quoquam forte quocunque demum sub praetextu instituendos, artiori foedere atque unione plenè prospiciatur; nos infra scripti virtute mandati plenaeque potestatis nobis concessae, atque inferius inferendae, convenimus atque statuimus dictum Dominum magnae Britanniae Regem, dictosque Dominos foederati Belgii Ordines Generales, invicem obstrictos, unitos atque confederatos fore; quemadmodum vi ac vigore praesentium invicem obstricti, uniti atque confederati sunt foedere defensivo perpetuo,

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Britain, and the said States General of the United Netherlands, shall be mutually obliged, united and confederated together, as they are by the force and virtue of these presents mutually obliged, united and confederated in a perpetual league defensive, in the manner, and under the conditions following.

I.

That if any Prince, State or other person whatever, without exception, shall under any pretext, invade, or attempt to invade the territories, countries, or any places that lie within the dominions of the said King of Great Britain, or shall exercise any acts of hostility by sea or by land, against the said King or his subjects, the said States General shall be obliged, as by virtue of these presents they are obliged, to send forty ships of war, well furnished with all things necessary, to assist the said King, to oppose, suppress, and repell, all such insults and acts of hostility, and to procure him due reparation for any damages sustained: that is to say, fourteen of the said ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men, a just allowance and computation being made, as well with respect to those ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a lesser number of men:

fourteen

perpetuo, modo atque conditionibus sequentibus.

I.

Quod si Principum, Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem furit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque praetextu invaserit, vel invadere tentaverit territoria, regionesque, aut loca quaelibet sub ditione dicti magnae Britanniae Regis sita, aliumve quemcunque actum hostilem terra marive contra dictum Dominum Regem ejusve subditos exercuerit; dicti Domini Ordines Generales tenebuntur, quemadmodum virtute praesentium tenentur, dicto Domino Regi, ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, suppressendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta navibus bellicis probe instructis; quarum quatuordecem à sexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, bominesque quadringentos ferant singulae, facta justa compensatione aut retributione inter eas quae numerosiore, et eas quae minus numeroso milite nautaque instructae erunt: quatuordecem alias

fourteen other ships shall carry from forty to sixty guns, and one with another, three hundred men at the least, allowance to be made as before, and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Besides which, they shall assist him with six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, or shall pay a sum of money with due regard to the just value of such an assistance, either for the whole, or a part, at the choice of the said King. All these aids shall be furnished within six weeks after they shall be demanded; and the said King shall reimburse the whole charge to the said States, within three years after the conclusion of the war.

II.

That if any Prince, State, or other person whatever, without exception, shall, under any pretext, invade or attempt to invade, the United Provinces, or any places situated within the jurisdiction of the said States General, or garrisoned by their soldiers; or shall exercise any act of hostility by land or by sea, against the said States General or their subjects; the said King shall be obliged, as by virtue of these presents he is obliged, to send forty ships of war well furnished with all things necessary

à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormentis, hominibusque ad minimum trecentis, facta compensatione ut supra, instructae sint quaelibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta; atque insuper sex mille peditibus, et equitibus quadringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dicto Domino Regi eligere placuerit, vel parte tali praedicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quae à dicto Domino Rege expetetur. Praestabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint; dictisque Dominis Ordinibus à dicto Domino Rege refundentur impensae omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto Bello numerandum.

II.

Quod si Principum Statuumve aliquis, aut quilibet alius, qualiscunque ille tandem fuerit, nemine excepto, sub quocunque praetextu invaserit, vel invadere tentaverit Provincias Confederatas, aut loca quaelibet sub ditione dictorum Dominorum Ordinum Generalium sita, vel in quibus ipsorum miles praesidio positus est, aliunde quemcunque actum hostilem, terra marive, contra dictos Dominos Ordines Generales, eorumve subditos exercuerit; dictus Dominus Rex tenebitur, quemadmodum virtute praesentium tenetur,

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cessary, to assist the said *States General*, to oppose, suppress, and repell, all such insults and acts of hostility, and to procure due reparation for any damages sustained by them: that is to say, fourteen of the said ships shall carry from sixty to eighty great guns, and four hundred men; a just allowance and computation being made, as well with regard to those ships that carry a greater, as those that carry a lesser number of men: fourteen other ships shall carry from forty to sixty guns, and, one with another, three hundred men at the least; allowance to be made as before; and none of the rest to carry less than six and thirty guns, and a hundred and fifty men. Besides which, he shall assist them with six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, or shall pay a sum of money, with due regard to the just value of such an assistance, either for the whole or a part, at the choice of the said *States*. All these aids shall be furnished within six weeks after they shall be demanded: and the said *States* shall reimburse the whole charge to the said King, within three years after the conclusion of the war.

III.

The said ships of war, and the

netur, dictis Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus ad insultus eos actusque hostiles arcendos, suppressimendos, atque repellendos, debitamque damni dati reparationem obtinendam, auxilio adesse quadraginta navibus bellicis probe instructis: quarum quatuordecem à sexaginta ad octoginta tormenta bellica majora, hominesque quadringentos ferant singulae; factâ justâ compensatione aut retributione inter eas quae numerosiore, et eas quae minus numero milite nautaque instructae erunt: quatuordecem aliae, à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormentis, hominibusque ad minimum trecentis, factâ compensatione ut supra, instructae sint quaelibet: et nulla reliquarum minus ferat quam triginta sex tormenta, hominesque centum et quinquaginta: atque insuper sex mille peditibus, et equitibus quadringentis; vel valore justo hujusmodi auxilii in pecunia numerando, prout dictis Dominis Ordinibus eligere placuerit, vel parte tali praedicti auxilii, aut dicti valoris in pecunia, quae ab iisdem expetetur, Praestabuntur autem dicta auxilia intra sex septimanarum spatium postquam postulata fuerint: dictoque Domino Regi à dictis Dominis ordinibus refundentur impensae omnes intra triennium, à finito atque extincto bello numerandum.

III.

Dictae naves bellicae, ac di-
ctas

the said auxiliary forces of horse and foot, together with the commanders of the ships and forces, and all the subaltern officers of both, that shall be sent to the assistance of the party injured and attacked, shall be obliged to submit to his pleasure, and be obedient to the orders of him or them, who shall be appointed to command the armies in chief, either by sea or land.

IV.

Now, that an exact computation may be made of the charges that are to be reimbursed within the space of three years after the conclusion of the war; and that the value of such assistance may be adjusted in ready money, which possibly the party attacked may chuse, either for the whole or a part of the said ships, horse and foot; it is thought expedient, that the fourteen ships carrying from sixty to eighty pieces of cannon, should be valued at the sum of eighteen thousand six hundred and sixty-six pounds Sterling, or of *English* money; the other fourteen which carry from forty to sixty guns, at fourteen thousand pounds Sterling; and the remaining twelve, at six thousand pounds of the same money: six thousand foot, at seven thousand five hundred pounds Sterling; and

*Et*ae equitum peditumque copiae auxiliares, naviumque et copiarum praefecti, ceterique officiales bellici minores, vim atque injuriam passo submissi, ejus voluntatem respicere tenebuntur, atque obsequi mandatis ejus eorumque, quos summa cum potestate exercitui suo terra marive praeficere valuerit.

IV.

Quo autem exacta computatio institui possint impensarum, intra trium annorum spatium, postquam bello finis impositus fuerit, restituendarum; vel etiam jussi earundem valoris in pecunia numerata, quam vim hosticam passo, loco dictarum navium, equitum, peditumque, vel omnium vel pro parte eligere forte placuerit; visum fuit impensas quatuordecim navium à sexaginta ad octoginta tormentis instructarum, aestimare pretio octodecim millium sexcentarum et sexaginta sex librarum Sterlings, sive monetae Anglicanae; earumque quatuordecim quae à quadraginta ad sexaginta tormenta ferunt, quatuordecim millibus libris Sterlings; reliquarum autem duodecim, sex millibus ejusdem monetae libris: sex mille autem pedites, septem millibus et quingentis libris Sterlings: Quadringentos vero equites, mille quadraginta ejusdem

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and four hundred horse, at one thousand and forty pounds, for one month: the money to be paid by the said King of Great Britain at London, and by the said States General at Amsterdam, according as the course of the exchange shall be at the time when payment is to be made. But, in consideration of the six thousand foot soldiers, the sum of six thousand pounds Sterling shall be paid within the first month, to defray the expence of lising and providing the men.

V.

This league, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States General of the United Provinces, by letters patents of both parties, sealed with their great seal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner, if it may be; and the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on each part within the said time.

Here follows a copy of the powers granted by the most serene King of Great Britain, &c.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of England, Scotland,

dem monetæ libris: pro quolibet mense computandis: nummique à dicto quidem Domino Rege magnæ Britanniae, Londini, à Dominis verò Ordinibus Generalibus Amstelodami solventur, juxta cursum cambii eo tempore quo solutio præstanda erit: pro primo autem mense respectu peditum supradictorum, insuper persolventur sex mille librae Sterlings, pretium nimirum ad eos conscribendos instruendosque necessarium.

V.

Fœdus hoc, omniaque et singula eo contenta, à dicto Domino Rege magnæ Britanniae, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Foederatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes aut citius, si fieri poterit, confirmabitur et ratihabebitur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra prædictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Sequitur tenor mandati à serenissimo Domino Rege magnæ Britanniae dati.

Carolus, Dei gratia, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Franciæ et Hiiberniæ

land, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all, &c.

niae Rex, fidei defensor, &c. Omnibus, &c.

A copy of the powers granted by the High and Mighty Lords, the States General of the United Netherlands.

The States General of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, To all those, &c.

In witness and confirmation of all and every part of this treaty, we, whose names are underwritten, have subscribed and sealed the same, at the Hague in Holland, the 23d of January, 1668.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

On the part of the States,

Gellicom.

Asperen.

J. de Witt.

Crommon.

Unkel.

Jac. Van Coeverden,

K. Isbrants.

THE King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, having with great grief considered, and maturely weighed, the

Sequitur tenor mandati, à Celsis et Praepotentibus Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus Foederati Belgii dati.

Les Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies des Pais Bas, A tous ceux qui ces presentes, &c.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem majusque robur, hisce tabulis subscripsimus, illasque sigillis nostris subsignavimus. Hagae-Comitum in Hollandia die 23^{to} Januarii, Anni 1668.

Signed on the King of England's part,

W. Temple.

On the States part,

Gellicom.

Asperen.

Johan de Witt,

Crommon.

Unkel.

Ja. Van Coeverden.

K. Isbrants.

REX Magnae Britanniae, atque Ordines Generales Foederati Belgii, reputantes, atque apud animum expendentibus summo cum dolore miseras Calamitatesque

the miseries and calamities of the late war between the two Crowns, which raged in their neighbourhood; and having observed that the flames of that fire have insinuated themselves among their neighbours, which, by inevitable necessity, will involve the greatest part of the Princes and States of Christendom in the same calamities, unless they may be timely extinguished, before they gather greater force; have thought that they could not discharge the duty of that trust, and the respective offices, wherein they are placed by God, if after the re-establishment of a mutual friendship and alliance between the nations of *Great Britain* and the *United Netherlands*, and the conclusion of a peace between the four powerful States that were parties in that bloody war, they should not apply their minds with the utmost diligence and industry, to compose the differences that have arisen between the said two Crowns, and more especially to take care, that the flames of that war, which have been kindled in their neighbourhood, may be extinguished. Therefore the most serene King of *Great Britain*, and the High and Mighty States of the *United Netherlands*, having with much labour and earnest intreaty, induced the most Christian

King

lamitatesque belli, quod nuper inter duas Coronas in finibus exarsit, quodque necessitate quam ineluctabili maximam partem Principum atque Statuum Christiani orbis iisdem involvet malis, serpente incendii istius flammâ ad vicinos, nisi tempestivè et in principio extinguatur: existimarunt se nullatenus funturos partibus officii munerisque sibi à Deo mandati, si post feliciter instauratam amicitiam sub auspiciis divini numinis, et reductam veterem necessitudinem inter magnam Britanniam et foederatum Belgium, eodemque tempore stabilitam pacem inter quatuor potentes status, qui cruenti istius Belli partes fuerunt, animum non applicent sedula omnique industria ad componenda dissidia quae oborta sunt inter praedictas duas Coronas, praesertim ut memorati in finibus belli flamma sopiatur. Proinde, cum serenissimus magnae Britanniae Rex, et Celsi praepotentesque Ordines foederati Belgii, post multum operis insumptum, variasque obtestationes, obtinuerint a Christianissimo Rege, ut professus sit dictis Ordinibus Generalibus se ex hoc tempore arma depositurum, dummodo Hispani parati sint illi rite atque solemniter cedere per tractatum pacis omnia loca et munimenta, ut et castellanias cum annexis, quae armis in expeditione praecedentis anni occupavit aut munivit; vel ut Hispani permoveantur in eum transcribere

King to profess solemnly to the said *States General*, that he would immediately lay down his arms, if the *Spaniard* would either consent to yield up to him in due form and manner by a treaty of peace, all those places and forts, together with the *Chastellanies* and their dependencies, which he possessed himself of in the expedition of the last year; or will be persuaded to transfer and make over to him all the right that remains to them in the Duchy of *Luxemburg* (or else in the county of *Burgundy*) together with *Cambray* and the *Cambresis*, *Doway*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, *Winnbergen*, *Furnes* and *Lincken*, with their bailiwicks, *Chastellanies*, and other dependencies; and, in case they accept the alternative last mentioned, the most Christian King will restore to the King of *Spain*, all such places and territories as the *French* have possessed by their arms since they entered *Flanders*. Provided the High and Mighty *States General*, shall on their part promise, and render themselves guarantees to the most Christian King, that they will, by their reasons, and other effectual means, induce the *Spaniards* to agree to these conditions. The said King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General*, jointly conclude and judge, that they can do no better service

scribere omne jus quod illis restat in Ducatu Luxemburgico (sive Comitatu Burgundii) praeter Cameracum cum Cameracesio, Duacum, Ariam, Fanum St. Audomari, Bergas St. Vinoci, Furnas et Linckium, cum Bailluatibus, Castellaniis, caeterisque quae inde pendent: Regemque Christian. posteriori casu, restitutum Regi Hispaniae omnia loca ditionesque, quae Galli armis ex quo Flandriam ingressi sunt occupavere; ea lege ut Celsi et Praepotentes D.D. Ordines Generales reciproce caveant, Regemque Christian. securum reddant, se effecturos apud Hispanos rationibus aliisque momentis, ut in easdem consentiant leges; arbitrari sunt se hac tempestate, atque hoc rerum articulo optimam navaturos operam non modo utrique praesatorum Regum, sed et aliis Principibus et Statibus vicinis; si conjunctim communicatis consiliis collatisque operis adhortentur, et quantum suarum virium est permoveant saepius dictas duas Coronas, ad ineundam pacem legibus atque conditionibus supra memoratis; in quem finem facta nobis, qui has tabulas subscripimus, potestate cum libera, ex praescripto mandatorum nostrorum convenimus de articulis et capitibus sequentibus.

I. Quod

vice in this conjuncture and state of affairs, either to the two Kings before named, or to the rest of the neighbouring Princes and States, than by their joint counsels and utmost endeavours, to exhort, and, as much as in them lies, oblige the said two Crowns to make peace, upon the terms and conditions before mentioned. To which end we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, having received full power to that effect, have by virtue of those injunctions, concluded and agreed the following articles.

I.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, shall either jointly or separately (provided their intentions be mutually communicated, and no way repugnant to this agreement) use their utmost endeavours and industry with the most Christian King, to persuade him to promise and engage in the best form, and by a solemn treaty, to the King of Great Britain, and to the States General of the United Netherlands, That he will conclude a peace and alliance with the King of Spain, without any exception or reserve, under whatever pretext, or for whatever cause; if the King of Spain shall be induced or persuaded by the King of Great

I.

Quod Rex magnæ Britanniae, et Ordines Generales federati Belgii, conjunctim vel separatim, communicatis tamen omnino consiliis, et secundum ea de quibus mutuo convenerint, omnem operam omnemque industriam adhibebunt apud Regem Christianissimum ut in optima legitimaque forma, solenni tractatu spondeat et promittat Regi magnæ Britanniae, et federati Belgii Ordinibus Generalibus, se pacis foedus facturum cum Rege Hispaniae, citra omnem, quocunque sub-praetextu, vel quacunque de causa, exceptionem vel dispensationem; si Hispaniae Rex induci aut permoveri queat per Regem magnæ Britanniae, et Ordines federatos, ut cedat Regi Christianissimo, aut loca anno praeterito in

Great Britain and the Confederate States, to yield to the most Christian King, either the places he possessed himself of the last year in the Low-Countries, or to give him an equivalent, by delivering up the places above mentioned, or others in lieu of them, as shall be mutually agreed between the parties concerned.

II.

That the most Christian King be induced to consent, That the present cessation of arms in the Low-Countries, may be prolonged to the end of the month of *May*, to the end that the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederate States may, in the mean time, employ themselves with all diligence, care and industry, to procure the consent of the King or Queen of *Spain*, and their council, to the aforesaid terms and conditions,

III.

But that the most Christian King may have no just occasion to refuse to prolong the cessation of arms; the King of *Great Britain*, and the Confederate States shall oblige themselves by the same treaty, to take effectual care, that the *Spaniards* shall yield to *France* all that was taken the last year by the *French*, or give them an equivalent, as
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in Belgica armis occupata, aut aliud tantundem valens, per traditionem locorum superius memoratorum aliorumve in compensationem, de quibus mutuo consensu partes inter se convenire poterunt.

-II.

Ut Rex Christianissimus consentire velit in prorogationem vacationis armorum in Belgica ad finem mensis Maii, ut temporis interea Rex Magnae Britanniae, et foederati Ordines sedulo omnique industria et diligentia operam dare possint apud Regem aut Reginam Hispaniae, ejusque consiliarios, uti legibus conditionibusque praefatis consensum adhibere velint.

III.

Ut vero Rex Christianissimus nulla justa ratione dictam armistitii prorogationem recusare queat; Rex Magnae Britanniae, Ordinesque Foederati se eodem tractatu obstringent, id se effecturos ut reapse Galliae cedatur ab Hispanis omne quod Gallorum armis anno praeterito occupatum fuit, aut aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo partium consensu convenietur.

IV. Quod

shall be agreed with the consent of both parties.

IV.

That the most Christian King shall be induced and persuaded to give intire credit to, and put full confidence in the aforesaid promise, that his arms may not for the future, disturb the quiet of the Low-Countries: so that if it should happen, contrary to all hope and expectation, that the King of Great Britain, and the Confederated States shall not be able by their exhortations and earnest solicitations to persuade the Spaniards to give their consent to the conditions above mentioned, before the end of the next ensuing May; and that it become necessary to use more effectual means to that purpose: nevertheless the French shall not move or introduce their arms within, or upon, the limits of the Low-Countries; but the King of Great Britain and the confederate States shall engage, and take upon themselves such necessary provision, as may effectually oblige the Spaniards to accept the aforesaid conditions of peace: and it shall not be left to the discretion of the most Christian King, either to exercise any acts of hostility in the said countries, or to possess himself of any town, though by voluntary surrender; unless the

King

IV.

Quod Rex Christianissimus inducetur et permovebitur praedicto promisso plenam adhibere fidem, atque in eo fiduciam ponere velit, et ut proinde ejus arma in posterum quiescant in Belgica, ita quidem ut si praeter omnem spem et expectationem Rex Magnae Britanniae, foederatique Ordines nequeant per exhortationes obtestationesque permovere Hispanos ante finem mensis Maii proximi, ut consensum adhibeant conditionibus sapientis memoratis, ac proinde ad media majoris efficaciae venire necesse sit; nihilominus Galli intra fines et in finibus dictae Belgicae sua arma non movebunt aut introducent: sed Rex Magnae Britanniae et foederati Ordines se obstringent, atque in se recipient id sese suppleturos quod necessum erit, ut Hispani reapse astringantur, uti pacem legibus supradictis accipiant; adeoque Regi Christianissimo integrum non erit ullis exercere actus hostiles in dictis regionibus, neque ullum occupare oppidum licet sponte sua se dedere velit, nisi Rex Magnae Britanniae, et foederati Ordines cessent atque omittant efficere id quod jam dictum est.

V. *Quod*

King of Great Britain, and the Confederate States shall cease and omit to prosecute the things above mentioned.

V.

That when the peace is made between the two crowns, not only the King of Great Britain, and the Confederate States, but likewise the Emperor, and all the neighbouring Kings and Princes, who shall think themselves concerned, that the quiet of Christendom remain unshaken, and the Low Countries be restored to the enjoyment of their former tranquillity, shall be guarantees and conservators of the same: to which end, the number of forces, and other means to be used against either of the parties that shall violate or infringe the said peace, shall be determined and agreed, that the injury may cease, and the party offended receive satisfaction.

VI.

That this agreement, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of Great Britain, and the said States General of the United Provinces, by letters patents on both sides, sealed with the great seal, in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner,

V.

Quod sancita inter duas Coronas pace; ejus servandae sponsores vindicesque erunt in forma omnium optima, amplissima et securissima, non modo Rex Magnae Britanniae, et foederati Ordines, sed et Imperator, omnesque Reges et Principes vicini, qui existimabunt sua interesse ut orbi Christiano inconcussa maneat quies, et Belgicae sua reddatur constetque tranquillitas: in quem finem definiatur copiarum militarium numerus, aliaque media quibus utendum erit adversus alterutram partium quae temeraverit vel violaverit pacem, ut injuriam demat ac parti laesae resarciat,

VI.

Pacta haec conventa omniaque et singula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnae Britanniae, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus foederatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma, intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes, aut citius si fieri poterit, confirmabuntur

164 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

er, if it can be done; and within the said time the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on both sides.

In witness and confirmation of all which, we, whose names are under-written, have subscribed and sealed the same. At the *Hague in Holland*, the 23d of *January*, 1668.

Signed as before.

Separate Articles, which shall be of the same Force and Authority, as if they had been inserted in the Treaty concluded this Day, between the King of Great Britain and the States General of the United Netherlands.

I.

IF, in the procuring of a peace between *France* and *Spain*, any difficulty should arise about the point of the *renunciation*; it is to be so contrived, that either no mention at all is to be made of it in the treaty; or at least, the form is to be conceived and set down in such words, as nothing may accrue to either of the two Crowns, on account

confirmabuntur et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra praedictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem majusque robur, bisce tabulis subscripsimus, illasque sigillis nostris subsignavimus. Hagae-Comitum in Hollandia 23tio die Januarii, 1668.

Signed as before.

Articuli separati, qui ejusdem erunt virtutis atque auctoritatis, ac si inserti forent tractatui hodie no die, inter Regem Magnae Britanniae et Ordines Generales foederati Belgii, concluso.

I.

SI in procuranda pace inter Galliam et Hispaniam se offerat aliqua difficultas super puncto renunciationis, ea ineunda est ratio, ut vel nulla ejus in pactis fiat mentio, vel ut ejusmodi verbis concipiatur formula, ut neutrae duarum Coronarum quoad praedictam renunciationem eo quicquam accedat, aut etiam inde creetur aliquod juris detrimentum: quod si ve

count of the said renunciation; nor any prejudice be created to either of them in point of right: but if either the King of Spain, or the most Christian King, refuse their consent to this expedient; then the King of Great Britain, and the Confederated States, shall proceed against the refuser, as is agreed by the third and fourth article of the treaty, and in the last of these articles respectively; with this condition however, that, in case such refusal proceed from the King of Spain, the most Christian King shall oblige himself, not to make war in the Low-Countries, according to the tenor of the fourth article.

II.

That the King of Great Britain, and the States General of the United Netherlands, to the end that all parties may be satisfied, shall oblige themselves to use their utmost endeavours, that a peace may at the same time be established between the Kings of Spain and Portugal; but with this condition, that the most Christian King shall also oblige himself, in case this negotiation cannot be so soon accomplished, that such a delay shall no way hinder; on his part, the peace between him and Spain; except only, that it shall be free for the said most Christian King, to give suc-

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ro Rex Hispaniarum, vel etiam Rex Christianissimus in id consentire nolint, adversus recusantem, Rex Magnae Britanniae, et foederati Ordines procedent; ut conventum est articulo tertio et quarto dicti tractatus, et ultimo horum articulorum respectivè: ea tamen conditione, ut in casu recusationis Regis Hispaniae, Rex Christianissimus se reciprocè obstringat, quemadmodum in articulo quarto, se nullatenus arma moturum in Belgica.

II.

Quod Rex Magnae Britanniae, et Ordines Generales foederati Belgii, ut prolixius ab omni parte satisfiat, se obligabunt omnem sedulo operam duros, ut pax inter Reges Hispaniae et Lusitaniae eodem tempore sanciri possint; ea tamen lege ut vicissim Gallia se obstringat, si tam cito non possit id negotium perducere ad exitum, uti pax inter se et Hispaniam nihilominus incutatur; hoc excepto, ut liberum sit Regi Christianissimo supplicare ferre Regi Lusitaniae foederato suo, eique auxilio esse, sive inferendo arma sua ut aliunde detrahat hostem, sive alio quocunque modo quem sibi commodissimum atque maxi-

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cour and aid to the King of Portugal, his ally; either by way of attack, that he may draw the enemy from other parts, or by any other means which he shall judge to be most convenient and advantageous. And, if the Spaniards can be brought to consent to a peace under the said condition, and the same be concluded accordingly; then the most Christian King shall be obliged wholly to abstain from the Low-Countries, as possessed of peace, and not involved in the disputes of either party. Neither shall it be lawful for him to form any designs against them, either by open force or clandestine practices; nor to require any satisfaction, under the pretext of charges and expences to be sustained on account of the war in Portugal; either for raising men, or any other burthen of that war. And, if it should happen that, during the said war, the auxiliary forces of the most Christian King should possess themselves of any places in Spain or Italy; the said most Christian King shall restore them to Spain, as soon as the peace with Portugal shall be made. But if, beyond and contrary to expectation, Spain should refuse to make peace with the King of Portugal, and also with the most Christian King, under that exception, of leaving him free

mè ex usu fore existimabit. Et si Hispani adduci poterunt ut consentiant in pacem sub dicta conditione, atque ea proinde concludatur; Rex Christianissimus tenebitur, à Belgica ut pacata, atque neutrarum partium rebus implicata, omnino abstinere; neque ei jus fasque erit quidquam adversus eam moliri, neque palam virtute bellica, neque clandestinis artibus; ut ne petere ullam satisfactionem sub obtentu impensarum erogationumque quas in bello Lusitanico erunt faciendae, tam ob delectum militum quam alia belli onera. Quod si contingat manente dicto bello per auxiliares Regis Christianissimi copias, occupari loca quaedam in Hispania Italiae; Rex Christianissimus simulatque pax cum Lusitania facta fuerit, eadem restituet Hispaniae: sed si praeter et contra expectationem, Hispania recuset pacem cum Rege Lusitaniae, ut et cum Rege Christianissimo, ea cum exceptione ut foederato suo liberum sit ei auxiliari, quemadmodum jam dictum est; hoc inopinato casu Rex Magnae Britanniae et foederati Ordines tenebuntur reapse id efficere ut Hispani omnimodo in id consentiant: ita tamen ut reciproci Rex Christianissimus se obstringat quemadmodum casu primo, quod non sit moturus arma in Belgica.

to assist his confederate, as has been already said; in this unexpected case, the King of Great Britain, and the Confederated States, shall be bound to employ themselves effectually to procure the consent of the Spaniards: yet with this provision, that the most Christian King do also oblige himself not to make war in the Low-Countries, as in the former case is already said.

III.

But if, beyond all expectation, the most Christian King should entertain such thoughts as shall induce him to refuse to promise, that he will sign the treaty of peace as soon as the Spaniard shall consent to give up all those places which have been acquired by him in his last expedition, or such an equivalent as shall be agreed by mutual consent; or in case he shall not accomplish his promise, or shall disallow or reject the cautions and provisions that are expressed in the said treaty, which are so necessary to obviate the fears and jealousies that are most justly conceived of the most Christian King's intentions to make a farther progress with his victorious arms into the said Low-Countries, so often already mentioned: In all these cases, and also if he should endeavour by any subterfuges or oblique practices to hinder

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III.

Si praeter omnem expectationem Rex Christianissimus inducat in animum ut promittere nolit quod tractatum pacis signatarus sit, simulatque Hispani cessuri sint omnia loca ab eo occupata in novissima expeditione, vel aliud tantundem valens, de quo mutuo consensu convenietur; aut promissorum fidem non impleat, aut detrahet respuatque cautiones et praemunimenta in dicto tractatu expressa, quae necessaria sunt ut obviam eatur metui justissime concepto, ne Rex Christianissimus arma sua victricia in saepius memorata Belgica ulterius proferat: quod omnibus istis casibus, ut et si per alia subterfugia aut obliquo artes conetur pacis conclusionem impedire aut eludere; Anglia, foederatumque Belgium tenebuntur accedere partibus Regis Hispaniae, omnibusque et junctis viribus terra marique adversus Galliam bellum gerere; ut compellatur non in leges dun-

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or elude the conclusion of the peace; then *England* and the *United Netherlands* shall be bound and obliged to join themselves to the King of *Spain*, and with all their united force and power to make war against *France*; not only to compell him to make peace upon the conditions aforesaid; but if God should bless the arms taken up to this end, and favour them with success, and if it should be thought expedient to the parties concerned, to continue the war, till things shall be restored to that condition, in which they were at the time when the peace was made upon the borders of both kingdoms, in the *Pyrenean mountains*.

IV.

These separate articles, with all and every thing therein contained, shall be confirmed and ratified by the said King of *Great Britain*, and the said *States General* of the *United Provinces*, by letters patents of both parties, sealed with their great seal in due and authentic form, within four weeks next ensuing, or sooner if it may be; and within the said time, the mutual instruments of ratification shall be exchanged on both sides.

Done at the *Hague* in *Holland*, the 23d of *Jan.* 1668.

Signed as before.

Ths.

taxat saepius jam memoratas pacem facere; sed si arma in eum finem sumpta, Deum habeant faventem et propitium, atque de communi consensu id expedire visum fuerit, etiam bellum continuare, donec res in eum statum fuerint restitutae quo fuerunt tempore foederis in collimitio regnorum in montibus Pyrenaeis sanciti.

IV.

Articuli hi separati, omniaque et singula iis contenta, à dicto Domino Rege Magnae Britanniae, dictisque Dominis Ordinibus Generalibus foederatarum Provinciarum, per patentes utriusque partis literas sigillo magno munitas, debita et authentica forma intra quatuor septimanas proximè sequentes, aut citius si fieri poterit, confirmabuntur, et ratihabebuntur, mutuaque ratihabitionum instrumenta intra praedictum tempus hinc inde extradentur.

Actum Hagae-Comitum in Hollandia, die 23. Jan. 1668.

Signed as before.

Ths.

The Swedish Act.

Whereas the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Provinces of the Netherlands, have earnestly desired, that the King of Sweden might be associated with them, as one principal party, in that league which is this day concluded, and signed by their Commissioners and Plenipotentiaries; whereby a speedy and safe peace may be promoted and made between the two neighbouring Kings, and the public tranquillity of *Christendom*, by the blessing of God, may be restored: and whereas the King of Sweden himself, even from the beginning of these differences, which have grown to such a height between the two Kings, has acquainted the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, with his good and sincere intentions and desire, to associate and join himself to them in the business above mentioned, as well in regard of the strict friendship and alliances, which he acknowledges have joined him in one common interest with them, as that by his accession to them, all useful and honourable means and industry may be used to establish a peace between the two Kings: professing that no other diffi-

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CUM magnae Britanniae Rex, ac Ordines Foederatarum Belgii Provinciarum, valde desiderarint Regem Sueciae unâ cum ipsis in partem principalem adscisci illius foederis, quod hodierno die per Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios suos conclusum signatumque est; quo prompta atque tuta pax inter Reges duos vicinos promoveatur, quoque Divinâ adspirante gratiâ per orbem Christianum publica tranquillitas instauretur: praeterea cum Rex ipse Sueciae jam ab initio eorum motuum qui inter duos designatos Reges cruduerunt, tam Magnae Britanniae Regi, quam foederatorum Belgarum Ordinibus sit testatus bonum sincerumque suum propositum ac studium, quo tenebatur, sese cum iis in hoc negotio modo supradicto sociandi ac jungendi; idque respectu arctissimae necessitudinis, et horum foederum per quae communibus cum iisdem commodis adstringi se agnoscit, ut per hunc interventum, perque modos utiles quoscunque ac honestos, paci inter binos Reges stabiliendae insudetur: nec per ullam difficultatem sese hactenus cohibitum, mentem suam super re totâ aperiendi, nisi quod praestolatus est dum certò resciretur quid deliberati atque firmi consilii Rex Magnae Britanniae et foederatorum

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culty has hitherto restrained him from opening his mind upon that whole matter, than that he waited to be informed, what firm and deliberate councils the King of Great Britain, and the States of the United Netherlands, would take in this affair, and what assistance would be requisite, with other things of that kind, in which the said King of Sweden desires to be satisfied, to the end that he may proceed by the like steps, and in equal manner with the King of Great Britain; and the States of the United Netherlands: for these reasons it is thought expedient for the common good, that the present instrument between the Ministers, Deputies and Plenipotentiaries of the said Kings of Sweden and Great Britain, and those of the said States of the United Netherlands, be put down in writing, whereby, on the one hand the King of Sweden should be obliged, after the foresaid satisfaction received, to embrace the said league, to use the same endeavours, and to proceed equally, and in the like manner, as the said King of Great Britain and the said States of the United Netherlands think fit to do, in order to promote and carry on so useful a work; and on the other hand, the said King of Sweden will be assured, that a place is reserved for him, em-

ptum Belgarum Ordines super omni hoc negotio essent capturi; tum quousque promoveri subsidia aliaque id genus nonnulla possent, per quae dictus Sueciae Rex sibi satisfieri exoptat, ut pari et aequato cum Magnae Britanniae Rege ac foederati Belgii Ordinibus passu in hac re procedat: ea propter, ex commodo communi visum est fore, si hoc instrumentum inter Ministros Deputatos ac Plenipotentiarios dictorum Regum Sueciae Magnaeque Britanniae, nec non dictorum foederati Belgii Ordinum scripto consignaretur; quo una ex parte obligaretur Rex Sueciae, mediante satisfactione praedicta ad amplectendum designatum foedus, et ad eandem navandam operam, eodemque passu procedendum, quo dictus Magnae Britanniae Rex, dictique foederatorum Belgarum Ordines procedendum sibi esse existimant, ut negotium tam salutare promoveatur: necnon parte ex altera dictus Rex Sueciae certus ita fieret locum sibi vacuum ac integrum relinqui foederis hujusce inter partes principales amplectendi, quemadmodum id ut faciat à Magnae Britanniae Rege, et ab Ordinibus foederati Belgii per hasce praesentes, maxime amicum in modum rogatur; qui et ipsi libenter apud Caesarem et Hispaniarum Regem omne officii genus eo convertent, ut controversiae nonnullae quae dicto Sueciae Regi cum iis possint intercedere, quamprimum

pty and intire, to enter, as one principal party, into this league; as by these presents he is desired in the most friendly manner, both by the King of Great Britain, and by the States of the United Netherlands; who on their part will most readily employ themselves, and all kind of good offices, towards the Emperor and King of Spain, to the end that all such differences, as the said King of Sweden may have with them, be composed and determined, according to the rules of equity and justice. And forasmuch as concerns the aid which is required from the said King, the States General of the United Netherlands will not be wanting to send with expedition, such necessary instructions to their Ambassadors in the Court of England; that between them, and such Commissioners as the said King of Great Britain shall appoint to that purpose, and the extraordinary Ambassador of the King of Sweden, who is now ready to begin his journey thither, together with other Ministers residing there on the part of divers Princes and States, who are concerned and interested in this affair; such measures may be taken to settle all things which shall be requisite and necessary, that the said league may acquire the substance as well as the form of a triple agreement:

mum componantur, et secundum jus fasque è medio tollantur. Quantum vero ad subsidia quae à dicto Rege praetenduntur; Ordines foederati Belgii Generales non defuturi sunt mandatis necessariis confestim ad legatos suos in Aulâ Britannicâ mittendis, ut hos inter et Commissarios quos Dicitus Magnae Britanniae Rex eam in rem designabit, interque legatum Regis Sueciae extraordinarium, qui iter jam nunc eò meditatur ex Belgio, aliosque illic degentes Ministros Principum Statuumve, quos id negotium quoque tangit atque concernit; concilia ixeantur, super necessariis ac requisitis omnibus constituendis; sic ut foedus jam dictum consequatur, quamprimum substantiam atque formam pacti tripliciter conventi; ad quod invitandis amicis et confederatis, si qui ejus in partem admitti volent, omni ex parte opera quam diligentissimè dabitur.

Actum

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greement : to which the respective parties shall make it their business to invite their friends and allies, if any of them should desire to be admitted.

Done at the *Hague*, 13-23
of *January*, 1668.

Actum Hagae-Comitum, 13-23
die Januarii, 1668.

Signed,

Signed,

Christopher Delphicus B. and
Count of Dhona.

Christophorus Delphicus B.
ac Comes in Dhona.

Haraldus Appelboom.

Haraldus Appelboomius.

The Negotiation of the Peace at *Aix la*
Chapelle.

To My Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Antwerp, Feb. 27. N. S. 1668,

I Did not expect to give your Lordship another trouble from this town ; but having been detained here some days by the Marquis's stay till this morning, and intending at night to follow him for *Brussels*, I know not whether my arrival there may be time enough to write by the packet that parts from thence to morrow at evening, and therefore will not venture by any omission to forfeit my charter of writing every post.

I had yesterday a joint audience with the *States Deputies*, and will refer your Lordship for what passed there to the inclosed memorial on our part, and, answer given us by the Marquis, which we have dispatched this morning to Sir *John Trevor*, and Mr.

Bouningham

Bouningham at *Paris*, by a joint express; in hopes by their endeavours there to bring the business to a suspension of arms, upon the Marquis's having now accepted the truce, to the shorter term offered by *France*, as well as the longer proposed by his Majesty and the *States*.

For the *alternative*, we can yet draw no resolution from him upon it, defending himself by the necessity of first concerting with us how he shall be assisted, in case of *France* refusing both the truce and the *alternative*. This is in the Marquis an aim of engaging us by advance in the party, and thereby exasperating *France*, by being threatened more directly; and so embark the whole affair into the necessity of a long ensuing war: for, that *Spain* would much rather engage in with our assistance, than be forced to a peace upon our late project: and, I think, pursues its own interest right in this point. That of *Holland* is certainly opposite to theirs, and leads them to nothing so much as the composition of the quarrel, with some security of *France* growing no greater at least on this side.

The *Marquis* is large in arguing to me, that our interest lies in a joint war, rather than a peace between the two Crowns, and that our end must have been hitherto, only to engage *Holland* with us in the quarrel; and reasons from story, and the present genius of our people and Parliament. I endeavour to quiet him in this point, by assuring him, that whatever other Kings have thought or done, and whatever the people wish or talk; the King, in whose sole disposition all matters of peace and war lie, will by no arts nor considerations be induced to break from *Holland*, in the management of this business; nor make one pace farther in the *Spaniards* defence, than the *Dutch* are willing to join in. That his interest as well as honour lies in this resolution, agreed by so many solemn treaties

ties ; and that we as well as the *Dutch* can very well content ourselves with a peace, and pursuit of our commerce ; provided we are not alarmed too much, and too near, with the growth of the *French* greatness. And I wind up all with pressing him still to an acceptance of the *alternative*, and to embrace the peace according to our project. And thus we fence here at present ; of all which, your Lordship, I believe, will receive the detail more at large by the *Holland* packet, in the dispatches passed between me and Monsieur *de Witt* since my arrival here ; of which I desired him to send copies to their Ambassadors in *England*, to be by them communicated to your Lordship ; because more uncertainty in the *Nieuport* packet, and the present want of a settled cypher, have hindered larger transmissions this way, and more directly to your Lordship's hands.

Yesterday came in the *Spanish* letters, and, though I have not seen the Marquis since, yet, by what I have from his Secretary, and the Count *Mountery*, I have reason to believe, that *Don Juan* is on his way hither, and now at sea with considerable supplies of men and money, which are very necessary here, either for carrying on a war, or inducing a peace. The particulars I cannot assure, though the common talk is, of eight thousand *Spaniards*, and six hundred thousand crowns in *specie*, and eight hundred thousand in *remise*. 'Tis very possible your Lordship may hear more there of his coming, and see him sooner than we shall here, as well as judge better, what, or how much it will import to the effect or defeat, the advance or diversion, of the present councils. What occurs to your Lordship upon it, and will relate to my conduct here, I hope to receive from you by the first ; not esteeming any thing well begun, without a thread at least from your Lordship to guide me ; nor well performed, till I receive your approbation, upon which depends

so much the satisfaction, as well as good fortune of,
 &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

Antwerp, Feb. 27.

Anvers, le 27 Fevr.

S I R, N. S. 1668.

Monfieur, S. N. 1668.

I Have received much satisfaction as well as honour by yours of the 25th, and am very glad to observe the same conformity of sentiments between us since we parted, that there ever was while I resided at the *Hague*. I shall write to you now with my own ink, having already done it with that of the Marquis, who would not be satisfied till I sent you that dispatch: and I was forced to shew him my letter before I sealed it, to see whether it were agreeable with what he had desired me to tell you upon that occasion.

I had, at my first audience, pressed him so closely to declare himself upon the *alternative*, and surmounted all his excuses upon defect of powers, by desiring that he would do it by way of limitation, not to be ratified till the Queen of Spain's farther pleasure; that at last he told me he would comply

J'AY éprouvé beaucoup de satisfaction, & reçu beaucoup d'honneur par votre lettre du 25 de ce mois; & je suis fort aise de remarquer une aussi grande conformité de sentimens entre nous, depuis que nous nous sommes séparés, qu'il y en a toujours eu pendant mon séjour à la Haye. Je vous écriray à présent de mon propre encre, car c'est de celle de Monsieur le Marquis que je vous écrivois dernièrement: il ne voulut point paroître satisfait, que je n'eusse consenti à me charger du soin de vous écrire, & par là je me vis contraint à lui montrer ma lettre avant que de la fermer; car il falloit qu'il jugeât si elle étoit conforme à ce qu'il m'avoit prié de vous mander sur l'affaire qui en faisoit le sujet.

Dans ma première audience je l'avois si fort pressé de se déclarer sur l'*alternative*, & j'avois été si habile à lever toutes ses difficultés, & à m'opposer à ses délais qui étoient fondés sur son manque de pouvoirs; mes instances étoient si fortes & si redoublées, qu'il me dit enfin qu'il se disposeroit à faire ce que j'exigeois.

comply, provided *France* could be brought to ratify their renunciation in form in the Parliament of *Paris*; to content themselves with an equivalent for the cities taken, which advance so far into the heart of the country: and lastly, if in case of a refusal from *France*, he might be assured beforehand of the assistance of *England* and *Holland* by a common concert.

I told him, that for the two points of the *renunciation* and the *equivalent*, he might reckon from our joint offices upon all we could obtain from *France* in favour of *Spain*. For, as to the *equivalent*, our own interest obliged us to it, that we might leave so much a stronger barrier between *France* and *Holland*: and as for the *renunciation*, we desired it too, but do not conceive it a thing upon which *Spain* ought to be too stiff; since our guaranty was the only strong and solid *renunciation* that could be made upon this occasion: and for the assurance he desired, of being assisted in case of a refusal from *France*, I did

j'exigeois de luy, pourvu qu'on pût porter la France à faire venir, dans les formes, sa renonciation dans le Parlement de Paris; à se contenter d'un equivalent pour les villes prises, lesquelles sont situées si avant dans le pais, & presque au coeur de l'état; & enfin qu'en cas de refus de la part de la France, il seroit assuré du secours de l'Angleterre & de l'Hollande, & que les deux nations armeroient de concert. Au reste, voycy par où je réussis à vaincre sa repugnance, & à obtenir ma demande; je luy dis qu'en attendant l'arrivée de pleinpouvoirs, il fit sous le bon plaisir de la Reine d'Espagne, & ad ratificandum, la declaration sur laquelle je le pressois.

A l'égard des conditions qu'il propose, voycy ce que je luy ay répondu; que pour les deux premieres, savoir la renonciation & l'equivalent, qu'il se pouvoit promettre de nos soins & de nos offices mutuels tout ce que nous pourrions obtenir de la France en faveur de l'Espagne; à quoy j'ay ajouté, qu'à l'égard de l'equivalent, notre intérêt commun demandoit qu'on pressât cet article, & qu'il fust accordé afin qu'une plus forte barrier, fust laissée entre la France & l'Hollande. Que pour ce qui regardoit la renonciation, nous la desirions aussi; mais que nous ne croyons pas que ce fût une chose sur laquelle l'Espagne dût s'opiniâtrer; puisque notre
guarantie

did not doubt but he had heard at least the substance of our secret articles to that purpose; because their Ambassador at the *Hague* had told me, that a few of *Amsterdam* had sent him a copy of them, by which he must needs be well informed of our mutual obligations, as well as of our intentions, not only to assist *Spain*, in case of a refusal from *France*, but to engage ourselves in the quarrel, by an open war with all our forces against that Crown.

After much discourse to this purpose, I thought fit, for his entire satisfaction upon the article of our assisting *Spain*, to let him know clearly, how far he might hope from us in the point of the renunciation, and to remove a thought which *Don Estavan de Gamarra* had given him as coming from me, that there was something in the articles, by which it should appear, that we would not force *Spain* in case of a refusal: for these reasons, I say, I thought good to read to him our three separate articles, without giving him a copy;

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for

guarantie étoit l'unique sûreté & la seule solide renonciation, sur laquelle il fût sûr de se reposer en cette occasion. Qu'à l'égard de l'assurance qu'il vouloit avoir d'un secours, en cas que la *France* refusât les conditions; je ne doutois point qu'il n'eût été instruit, du moins en substance, du contenu de nos articles secrets touchant ce point là; que l'Ambassadeur d'*Espagne* à la Haye m'avoit même dit qu'un Juif d'*Amsterdam* luy en avoit fait tenir la copie, par où il devoit être assez instruit de nos engagements mutuels, aussi bien que de nos intentions pour l'*Espagne*; qui étoient, non seulement de l'assister en cas d'un refus de la part de la *France*, mais de nous engager dans sa querelle, par la déclaration d'une guerre ouverte en tournant toutes nos forces contre la *France*.

Après beaucoup de discours sur cette matière, j'ay trouvé à propos, afin de le satisfaire pleinement sur l'article de secours, par luy faire évidemment sentir jusqu'où il pouvoit compter sur nous, dans l'affaire de renonciation, aussi bien que pour luy ôter la pensée que *Don Estavan de Gamarra* luy avoit donné de ma part, que peu être y avoit-il quelque chose dans les articles par laquelle il paroîtroit que nous ne voulions forcer l'*Espagne* en cas d'un refus: pour toutes ses raisons, dis-je, j'ay jugé à propos de luy lire nos trois articles separez, sans luy

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for he professed to me, that he never received one from the Jew, though he did the substance of them both from him, and the Baron de Bargeyck. I do not know whether I did well in shewing them to him; but, if you think otherwise, I hope you will excuse me upon my good intentions, and my usual plain dealing to inform freely those I treat with, of what they have to hope or to fear. The Marquis took no offence at our two first articles; and only said, he could not comprehend, why the States being newly enemies to Portugal, and having still a controversy with them should desire so much to see them strengthened by a peace with Spain. I told him, my opinion was, that they drove on this affair, because they believed, that without a peace with Portugal, Spain would not recover itself enough to make head against France, and reduce affairs of Christendom to the balance that is necessary. He was satisfied with this answer, and spoke no more of the business of the renunciation: but, upon that of the assistance we promised, he said, that the words of the third article were strong enough, but in too general terms; and that after he should have accepted the alternative, France might yet, during the next month, or April, make some enterprises

en laisser la copie; car il me declara, qu'il ne les avoit point reçeus de son Juif, mais qu'il en avoit vû la substance, & que c'étoit par le canal de ce Juif & du Baron de Bargeyck. Je ne sçay pas si j'ay bien fait en les luy montrant; mais en cas que vous jugiez le contraire, j'espere que vous m'excuserez toujours en faveur de mes bonnes intentions, qui m'ont toujours porté à déclarer ouvertement à ceux avec que je traite, tous les sujets qu'ils ont à craindre & d'espérer. Le Marquis ne se formalisa pas de nos deux premiers articles; il dit seulement, qu'il ne peut comprendre pourquoy les états qui estoient n'agueres ennemis de Portugal, & à qui il reste encore des choses à demeler avec luy, souhaitoient si fort de voir accroître leurs forces par une paix avec l'Espagne: je luy dis que ma pensée étoit, qu'ils pressoient cette affaire, parce qu'ils croyoient que sans la paix avec le Portugal, l'Espagnol ne se verroit jamais en état de faire tête à la France, & de donner par ce moyen aux affaires de la chretienté le juste equilibrio qu'elles doivent avoir. Il se contenta de cela, & ne parla plus de l'affaire de la renonciation. Mais à l'égard de secours que nous promettons, il me dit, que les termes de l'article troisieme estoient assez forts, mais trop generaux; & qu'après qu'ils auroient accepté l'alternative la France pourroit encore pendant

enterprises upon the places on this side, before the new levies could be raised, and take some of them, if he were not furnished with three or four thousand foot, which might be easily done from *Holland*: and though I told him, that we could not concert farther with him before he had accepted the *alternative*, and by that means cast the refusal upon *France*, and by consequence, the force of our arms in case of a war, which we could not declare till we were assured upon which side the refusal would lye; for all that, he would not be satisfied till I had writ you that letter; from which however, I looked for no other effect, than to let him understand from you, what he had already learnt enough from me.

On Sunday morning your Deputies arrived, and we had a joint audience with the *Marquis*, whereof they will send you an account. I shall only tell you, that as we pressed him very much upon the *alternative*, and he, on the contrary, pressed us to a concert for the defence of *Flanders*, and in the mean while to make

our

pendant les mois de *Mars* & d'*Avril*, faire quelques tentatives sur les villes du pais bas; que les nouvelles levées nous pourroient encore être sur pied; & que la *Flandre* se verroit enlever quelq' une de ces places, si elle n'étoit munie de trois ou quatre mille hommes de pied, & qu'il étoit facile à la *Hollande* de les fournir. Quoique j'aye pris le soin de luy repeter, que nous ne pouvions entrer en aucune negotiation avec luy, avant qu'il eut accepté l'*alternative*, que par là le refus retomberoit sur la *France*, & que par consequent elle s'attireroit toutes nos forces sur les bras en cas de guerre; qu'enfin ces forces ne pourroient faire de demarches jusqu'à ce qu'ont eut sçu de quel côté seroit le refus. Tout cela ne le satisfit pas, & il ne parut point content que je ne vous eusse écrit la lettre qui a précédé celle cy, de laquelle pourtant je n'attendois pas d'autre effet que de luy faire voir par vôtre propre plume, ce qu'il avoit déjà assez appris par ma bouche.

Le dimanche au matin Messieurs vos Deputez arriverent, & nous eûmes conjointement nôtre audience du *Marquis*; c'est de quoy ils vous rendront conte; je vous diray seulement, que comme nous l'avons fort pressé sur l'*alternative*, et que luy au contraire, ne nous a parlé & n'a insisté que sur un concert pour sa defense, nous proposant de

faire

our preparations for war; I told him thereupon, what preparations the King my Master had already made, and those also made by the States on their side; but I desired him, by his declaring himself upon the *alternative*, to let us know against which of the two parties such great preparations must be employed. I leave it to your Deputies to entertain you with an account of the long discourses he made upon this occasion, which however were moderate enough towards our common intentions. But we finished them all, by giving him a memorial to the same effect with what we had told him; upon which having received an answer yesterday in the evening, we dispatched it away this morning to the Ministers at Paris, to forward the suspension of arms, if possible, by our accepting the truce proposed by France, to the end of *March*.

Yesterday came letters from Spain: and though I have not seen the *Marquis* since, (who went early this morning for *Brussels*) yet, by what I have learnt from other hands, I have reason to think, that *Don Juan* may be at present

upon

faire tous nos preparatifs pour la guerre en attendant; je luy ay parlé de ceux que le Roy mon maitre faisoit déjà & de ceux que les états faisoient aussi de leur côté; je l'ay prié de nous apprendre en se declarant sur l'alternative, contre lequel de deux parties il faudroit employer de si grands preparatifs. Je laisse à Messieurs vos Deputez le soin de vous entretenir du detail de la conference, qui fut longue, & dans laquelle le Marquis parla souvent & long tems, mais toujours d'une maniere assez modérée, & qui ne paroissoit point s'eloigner de nos communes intentions. Notre audience s'est conclue par la presentation d'un memoire que nous luy avons remis, et qui contenoit en substance les choses que nous étions chargé de luy dire. Notre memoire ayant été repondu hier au soir, nous avons envoyé ce matin la réponse aux Ministres qui sont à Paris, & cela dans la vue de faire réussir, s'il est possible, la suspension d'armes; qui selon toutes les apparences ne sera pas long tems différée, des qu'on aura appris en France, que la treve qu'elle a proposée jusqu'à la fin de Mars vient d'être acceptée.

Il arriva hier des lettres d'Espagne, & quoique je n'ay pas vu le Marquis depuis qu'il a reçu ses depeches (car il a parti ce matin de la pointe de jour pour Bruxelles) j'ay pourtant lieu de conclure de tout ce que j'ay appris d'ailleurs, que Don Juan

upon his journey hither, and perhaps at sea, and that he brings along with him considerable supplies both of men and money. The talk runs, that he has eight thousand Spaniards, six hundred thousand crowns in specie, and eight hundred thousand in returns. But of these particulars I cannot assure you at present. I have already informed your Deputies more at large in what I have learnt upon the subject of *Don Juan*; as I shall continually do before-hand of all things that I think you would be glad to know from hence: and I believe they will tell you, that there is no need to desire me to use them with all confidence, whereof they have already received proofs enough since we met here: and they will be in every thing the more acceptable to me, by how much I see they are in esteem with you, and in credit with the States, as indeed they deserve both from their qualities and their persons.

Pray give me the liberty to desire you will send a copy of this letter to the Dutch Ambassadors at London, with directions to shew it to my Lord Arlington; because I cannot so well trust the *Nieuport* packet, too much exposed to the

Juan est enfin parti, & même déjà embarqué pour se rendre en ce pais-cy, & qu'il a mené avec luy des secours considerables & d'hommes, & d'argent; le bruit court, que les troupes consistent en 8000 Espagnols, que l'argent se monte à 600000 ecus en especes & en 800000 ecus de remises. Mais en vous écrivant ces particularitez je ne pretens vous apprendre encore rien de certain. J'ay dit dans un plus grand detail, à Messieurs vos Deputez, ce que j'avois appris touchant *Don Juan*; & à l'avenir je seray toujours prest à leur declarer toutes les choses que je croiray que vous serez bien aise que vous soient mandées d'icy. Je me flatte qu'ils vous diront qu'il n'est pas necessaire de me prier de me communiquer, & de m'ouvrir à eux avec toute sorte de confiance, puisque je leur en ay déjà donné des preuves depuis que nous nous sommes rassemblez icy. Leur entretien & leurs personnes me seront d'autant plus agreables, que je vois qu'avec votre estime ils ont aussi l'estime & la confiance de Messieurs les Etats; c'est une justice rendue à leur merite & à leurs qualitez personnelles.

M'accordez vous la liberté de vous prier d'envoyer une copie de cette lettre aux Ambassadeurs d'Hollande à Londres, avec ordre de le faire voir à *Milord Arlington*; car je me desie extremement du courier de *Nieuport*, trop exposé à la rencontre des

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the inspection of the *French*; and I am not yet so perfect in my cipher, as to write long letters in it upon these affairs.

I desire you will remember me to my friends at the *Hague*, and believe me, as much as any man in the world,

S I R,

Your, &c.

The Memorial given to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo. Febr. 1668.

My Lord,

THE under-signed Resident of the King of Great Britain, and the Deputies extraordinary of the States General of the United Netherlands, find themselves obliged to represent to your Excellency, that his Majesty and their High and Mightinesses have lately concluded a treaty, by which they have not only provided for their proper security, but also for the peace and quiet of *Christendom*, in case their neighbours proceed in it with the same good intentions wherewith the said allies have begun this affair: his said Majesty and their High and Mightinesses

des François, & je ne suis pas encore assez grand Maître dans mon chiffre, pour m'en servir dans les affaires d'un aussi long detail.

Je vous prie de m'aider à me conserver dans le souvenir de mes amis de la Haye, & de me croire toujours, & autant que personne du monde,

Monfieur,

Votre humble & tres affectionné Serviteur.

Memoire au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo. Anvers. Fevr. 1668.

Monfieur,

LES sous signez Resident de la Grande Bretagne, & les Deputez extraordinaires des Etats Generaux des Provinces Unies de pais Bas se trouvent obligez de représenter à V. E. que sa Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances ayant depuis peu conclus un traité, par lequel ils n'ont pas seulement pourvû à leur propre sureté, mais aussi à la paix & repos de la *Chretien*té, en cas que leurs voisins y procédant avec les mêmes bonnes intentions dont les dits allies ont entame cette affaire; sa dite Majesté & leurs Hautes Puissances, pour mieux acheminer un ouvrage si *Chretien*, ont don-
né

tinences, for the better perfecting so Christian a work, having given orders to their Ministers residing at the Courts of both Kings at present in war, to endeavour by all means, and by a common concert, to dispose both the said Kings to accept the means proposed by the said allies, as the readiest and most necessary for arriving at so happy an end; that is to say, to accept the peace upon the *alternative* already proposed: and (to prevent the accidents that may intervene to hinder the progress of the treaty) to consent also immediately to a truce till the end of *March*, and in the mean while to send their Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*, furnished with instructions and powers, necessary to treat and conclude a peace upon the said *alternative*; that the fire at present kindled, and whereof in all appearance the sparks are ready to fly through the greatest part of *Christendom*, may be soon extinguished, and give place to a general and lasting peace, to the safety of all those who find themselves engaged in the sad effects or consequences of the present war.

The said Resident and Deputies extraordinary are more particularly obliged by the orders of their Masters, to represent to your Excellency, how glorious it will be to you, how advantageous

né ordres à leurs Ministres auprès de deux Couronnes a present en guerre, de tacher par tous moyens, & par un Concert commun de disposer les dites deux Couronnes à accepter les moyens proposez par les dits allies, comme les plus prompts & les plus necessaires pour arriver à une fin si heureuse; c'est à dire, de consentir a la paix sur l'alternative deja proposée; & (pour prevenir les accidens qui pourrout survenir pour empêcher le progres d'un traite) de consentir aussi promptement a une treve jusqu' a la fin du mois de Mars, & en attendant, d'envoyer leurs Plenipotentiaires a la ville d'Aix la Chapelle, munis des instructions & de pouvoirs requis pour y traiter & conclure la paix sur la dite alternative, afin que le feu qui se voit a present allumé, & duquel les estincelles se vont en apparence jeter dans la plus grande part de la Chretiente, se puisse bientôt étouffer; & faire place a une paix generale, durable & salutaire a tous ceux qui se trouvent envelopés ou dans les effets ou dans les consequences funestes de la guerre presente.

Les dits Resident & les Deputez extraordinaires se trouvent plus particulierement obliges par les ordres de leurs maitres, de représenter a V. E. combien il luy sera glorieux, & avantageux

advantageous to the common ends of the peace, and how necessary for preserving to Spain the remainder of *Flanders*; that your Excellency by virtue of your powers, would make the first step in this great affair, by consenting readily to the said *alternative*, and to the said truce, and to the dispatching of the said Plenipotentiaries to *Aix la Chapelle*; and for the better entering into this negotiation, and the said truce, that your Excellency will declare immediately your acceptance of the truce, which the most Christian King has proposed, from the 18th of *November* to the last of *March*, 1668. And upon all these points, the said Resident and Deputies extraordinary, do pray your Excellency, with all possible instances, to give them a speedy and plain answer, agreeable to the good and holy dispositions where-with his Majesty, and their High and Mightinesses have begun and pursued this glorious and *Christian* design of a general peace.

avantageux a la fin commune de la paix, & necessaire a la conservation de ce qui reste a l'Espagne dans les pais bas; que V. E. en vertu de ses pouvoirs fasse le premier pas dans cette grande affaire, en consentant promptement a la dite alternative, & a la dite treve, & a la depeche des dits Plenipotentiaires a la ville d'*Aix la Chapelle*: et aussi pour mieux ache-miner cette negotiation & la dite treve, que V. E. se declart promptement d'accepter la treve que sa Majeste tres Chretienne a proposee le 18 Novembre 1667, jusqu'au dernier jour de Mars 1668. Et sur tous ces points les dits Residents, & les Deputes extraordinaires se trouvent obliges de prier V. E. avec toutes les instances possibles, de leur donner une reponse prompte, nette & agreeable aux bonnes & saintes dispositions avec lesquelles sa Majeste & leurs Hautes Puissances ont entame & poursuivi ce dessein glorieux & Chretien de la paix commune.

To

To

To my Lord Halifax.

My Lord, *Brussels, Mar. 2. N. S. 1668.*

IT would be a difficult thing to answer a letter I received lately from your Lordship, if it could be ever difficult for me to do a duty where I owe it so much, and pay it so willingly. The reflexions I make upon what you say, and what I hear from other hands of the same kind, carry me only to consider how much by chance, and how unequally *persons* and *things* are judged at a distance; and make me apprehend from so much more applause than is my due upon this occasion, that upon the next I may meet with as much more blame than I deserve; as one seldom has a great run of cards which is not followed by an ill one, at least gamesters that are no luckier than I. It is not my part to undeceive people, that will make my successes pass for merit or ability; but for my friends, I would not cheat them to my advantage itself; and therefore will tell you the secret of all that has seemed so surprising in my negotiation; which is, that things drawn out of their centre, are not to be moved without much force, or skill or time; but to make them return to their centre again, there is required but little of either, for nature itself does the work. The true centre of our two nations, now so near allayed, is where they now are seated; and nothing was in the way of their returning thither, but the extreme jealousies grown between the Ministers on both sides, and from thence diffused among the people; and this it was my good luck to cure, by falling into a great confidence with Monsieur *de Witt*, which made all the rest easy: and there is the whole story; that you may see how much you are either biassed or mistaken in all the rest you say of it. For what you mention of reward, I know not how it came into your head, but

I am sure it never entered into mine, nor, I dare say, into any body's else. I will confess to you, that considering the approbation and good opinion, which his Majesty, and some considerable enough about him, have been abused into, by my good fortune in this business, I think, a wiser man might possibly make some benefit of it, and some of my friends have advised me to attempt it, but it is in vain: for I know not how to ask, nor why, and this is not an age, where any thing is given without it. And by that time you see me next, you shall find all this which was so much in talk to my advantage for nine days, as much forgotten as if it had never been, and very justly, I think; for in that time it received a great deal more than its due, from many other hands as well as from yours. This I tell you, that you may not deceive yourself by hoping to see me ever considerable, farther than in the kindness of my friends, and that your Lordship may do your part to make me so in that, seeing me like to fail in all other ways. But as I remember, this is a time with you for *good speeches*, and not for *ill letters*; I will therefore end this, to make you more room for the others, and hope that none of the eloquence you are entertained with, can be more persuasive than a plain truth, when I assure you that I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

faithful humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Brussels, Mar. 2. N. S. 1668.

I AM sorry his Majesty should meet with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this session of Parliament;

Parliament; but confess I do not see why his Majesty should not only consent, but encourage any inquiries or disquisitions they desire to make into the miscarriages of the late war, as well as he has done already in the matter of accounts: for if it be not necessary, it is a King's ease and happiness to content his people. I doubt, as men will never part willingly with their monies, unless they be well persuaded it will be employed directly to those ends for which they gave it; so they will never be satisfied with a government, unless they see men are chosen into offices and employments by being fit for them; continued, for discharging them well, rewarded for extraordinary merit, and punished for remarkable faults. Besides, in these cases, his Majesty discharges the hardship and severity of all punishments upon the Parliament, and commits no force upon the gentleness of his own nature, while his subjects see that no tenderness of their Prince, nor corruption of Ministers, can preserve them long from paying what they owe to any forfeits of their duty. Nor indeed can any Prince do justice to those that serve him well, without punishing those that serve him ill, since that is to make their conditions equal, whose deserts are different. I should not say this to any person but your Lordship, to whom I know part of that justice is due. But to say the truth, the progress and end of the last war went so much to my heart, and I have heard so much lately from Monsieur de Witt concerning the carriage of it on our side, especially what fell under his eye, while he was abroad in the fleet, that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excused for their warmth in this pursuit. But your Lordship can best discern by the course of debates, whether this proceeds from a steady intention upon a general good, or from some accidental distempers, from which the greatest and best assemblies of men are

are not always free, especially when they have continued long together.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for my liberty in these discourses to which you were pleased to encourage me by hearing me so obligingly those few minutes I was allowed for such talk or thoughts at my last being with you, and from the sense you then expressed of the absolute necessity there was for his Majesty to fall into a perfect intelligence with his Parliament, especially being engaged into an appearance of action abroad by the force of this present conjuncture.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor,

SIR,

Brussels, Mar. 5. N.S. 1668.

ABOUT ten days since I dispatched away an express to you, (jointly with the deputies of *Holland*) whereby we acquainted you and Monsieur *Bouningham*, that the Marquis *de Castel-Rodrigo* had accepted the truce and suspension of arms proposed some time since by *France*, until the end of *March*, as well as the other proposed lately by his Majesty and the *States General* until the end of *May*. We are in some pain to have yet received no account of his arrival, but hope this delay will be reocompensed by bringing us news of the treaty's being accepted in the same terms by that Court as well as by this. However, in case of any scruple which may be raised there, for want of due notice given of the acceptation here, we now send you an act of the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo*, authorizing his Majesty's and the *States* Ministers at *Paris*, to manifest to that Court his Excellency's said acceptation, and thereupon to negotiate and conclude the same on that side.

And,

And, to the end that no objection may be made by *France* against the present expedition of this truce, in order to an ensuing treaty and peace, we send you likewise by this express the Marquis's last answer to our instances yesterday made for the acceptation also of the alternative, which is so full and so direct to the ends of our late treaty, that we have now nothing left to do on this side, the remainder of the whole negotiation lying on your parts at *Paris*, which we are here very much pleased with, seeing it is devolved to so much abler hands. I hope you will place the whole strength of his Majesty's and the *States Generals* credit in that Court upon an immediate consent to the suspension of arms, knowing how dangerous all new accidents may prove to the fair hopes and prospect in which we are at present of a peace; and withal how far his Majesty and the *States* are engaged to take part in any action that shall begin after the Marquis's accepting the alternative, as well as all other points of their late project for bringing about so happy an end.

For a good presage of this greater peace, we received here the news of that of *Portugal*, the very evening which brought us so happily the Marquis's answer upon the alternative, which has so much raised the hearts of the *Spaniards* here, that we are likely to have less thanks for pressing them so far to a prejudicial peace, as they esteem it on this side: but since they are already obliged, it will depend wholly upon *France* to hinder the conclusion of this in the same season with the other; which I will believe them too wise to do, as well as too constant to the assurances they have already given his Majesty, the *States*, and several other Princes in this point; of which the immediate consenting to a suspension of arms will shew the meaning and effect.

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I shall no farther increase your present trouble, than by the professions of my being,

SIR,

Your most humble servant.

To the Count de Molina, Al Conde de Molina,
Spanish Ambassador at
London.

My Lord, March 7. 1668. Sennor Mio, 7 Marco 1668.

YOUR Excellence cannot doubt of my satisfaction in arriving at *Brussels* to find my self there immediately possess'd of your letter with the inclosed paper; tho' the news of your health was more necessary to me, than that of the unreasonable-ness of one of your neighbours, and true interests of the others, which I find so well described there. But the best ink in the world is not a balsam that can cure such wounds; they must find their remedy from more powerful medicines, which the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* has given us reason to hope, if *France* will still chuse rather to fall out with all the world, than to make a peace so much to their own advantage as that we offer them, at least it is certain, that your Excellency with a stroke of your pen has brought to light the most covered designs of your enemies, unde-

ceived

NO puede V. E. dudar del gusto que he tenido en llegar a *Brusseleus*, aviendome yo allado a qui con su carta en las manos con le quaderno adjunto, aunque a mi era mucho mas necesaria la noticia de su salud de V. E. que no de la finrazon de uno suyo vezino ny del interez verdadero de los otros, que van muy bien traçados en el dicho quaderno; Pero la mejor tinta del mundo no es balsamo bastante para curar tales heridas, y es menester remedios mas fuertes, a los quales la prudencia del Sennor Marques de *Castel Rodrigo* a dado lugar si la *Francia* par sus peccados mas quisiere la guerra con todo el mundo, que no la paz avanzada que la hemos offrecido: a lo menos se puede dezir que S. E. con un rassy de pluma a sacado en luz los desinios mas encubiertos de sus enemigos, a dada a los interessados el mas claro dessenganno, y puesto las cosas de *Flandes* debaxo del amparo mas fuerte

ceived with the greatest clearness of your friends, and put *Flanders* under the securest protection; of which I cannot help rejoicing with you as the author. For what relates to *Father Patrick*, how much soever I concern my self in his fortunes, I do not yet see any way that it can be in my power to serve him on this occasion; the last *French* conquests having determined the dispute between the *Abbot Arnolphino* and the *Marquis of Baden*, about the *Abby de la Charité*. But the *Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo* has assured me, he will find some other way of shewing the esteem he has both for the merits and person of *Father Patrick*, to whom I hope your Excellency will do me justice, having endeavoured (though without success by this unhappy conjuncture) all that lay in my power to serve him.

I kiss your Excellency's hands, and

am yours, &c,

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Brussels, March 13. N. S. 1668.*

THE last post brought me none from *England*, nor has this week as yet brought me any from *Spain*; so that 'tis *France* only at this time that entertains us. The dispatch returned us late last night from

erte que se podia buscar, de que no me puedo impedir de dar a V. E. la enorabuena. Por interessado que soy en los lamentos del Padre Patricio, no veo como sara posible servirle más en esta ocasion; aviendo la Francia con su postrera conquista determinada el pleyto entre el Abad Arnolfin y el Marques de Baden, en la de la Abadia de la caridad. Pero el Sennor Marques me ha prometido con muchos veras de hallar otra manera di manifestar en quanto stima la persona y les meritos del dicho padre, a quien V. E. me ha de justifiar por averme empennado quanto era possible en suo negotio aunque faltado en alcancarle por la defdicha de las coyunturas.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su Mayor Servidor.

from Sir *John Trevor* upon the point of the *alternative*, has given the town here occasion to talk of the peace as a thing done, though I know not yet what the Marquis says to it, having not seen him since; but think it possible he may be as much surpris'd with their acceptation, as Sir *John Trevor* says, they were with his. It seems plain to me that *France* desires to pursue the war, but fears our engaging in it; and to hinder that, will use all the address that can be to lay the obstruction of peace upon the *Spaniards*. They on the other side desire to continue the war, provided they may be sure of our and *Holland's* assistance; and to that end, if they play their game well, they will be sure to retort the address of *France* upon them, and lay the blame of the war at their doors, without which they have no hopes of *Holland's* falling into their party; who, whether they are partial to the *French* or no in this quarrel, are certainly partial to the peace, and will not be drawn to share in the war but upon the last necessity. Therefore my business will be at present, to induce the Marquis to clear those two scruples made by the *French* upon his powers, and the choice of one or other of the *alternatives*; in which I know not what success I am like to have after so many advances made already as he conceives on his side, and so near *Don John's* arrival, at least according to the present reckoning here, which persuades us that he parted from *Madrid* upon the 22d past.

I know your Lordship has the same papers I received from Sir *John Trevor*, and from what occurs upon them here, I beg your Lordship's leave that I may this once refer you to the inclosed copy of my letter this evening to him upon that subject, having not time left me to repeat it here so at large as I ought to do.

The truth is, I never had so hard a part upon me as I have at this time, to keep all in good temper be-
tween

tween the Marquis and the deputies of *Holland* : for besides, that their ends may perhaps be a little different, their complexions are extremely *so* : he is not the easiest of access, nor the quickest of dispatch ; and his officers are at the same rate. The *Dutch* deputies are all upon the spur ; and when they demand an audience or a paper, if they have it not within half an hour, they say, the Marquis *se mocque d'eux, & ils se trouvent obligez de l'escire ce soir aux Estats, & que le Marquis ne cherche que des retardemens, & par la de les engager dans la guerre.* When they receive orders to move the Marquis in any particular, they must have it granted the first time it falls in discourse, and in the very same form and words it runs in their letters ; and think the Marquis ought to observe the *States* order and directions as punctually as they ; and will reason him to the death upon every point. The Marquis, who uses to owe no man any thing in that kind, grows ten times more difficult by that time they have talked an hour, than he was at first ; and engaging in large discourses, gives them twenty occasions of growing warm upon the place, and wise afterwards by interpretations, that, God knows, were never in the case ; so that in their audiences, between the Marquis's eloquence and their *Leyden* philosophy, the cards commonly run high, and all is *Picque* and *Repicque* between them ; and I am to go to one and t'other next day to set all right again, and endeavour to make them agree asunder upon points which they could by no means agree upon together. But if I go on, I shall weary your Lordship as much as they weary me : and therefore I shall break off this letter with telling you only, that the talk here is of an attempt for the relief of *Genap*, and that the horse are drawing together for that purpose ; with what success I know not, but am sure the *French* deserve none there, for continuing an

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attempt so long after the suspension of all enterprizes was accorded.

I am ever, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

SIR, Brussels, March 13. N. S. 1668.

I AM two letters in your debt since my last by the ordinary, one of the 8th, the other of the 12th; but I must needs say that your last has left you nothing in mine. That King's answer is full and fair in my apprehension, what it will appear in the Marquis's I know not: for since that Court cavils at his acceptance of the *alternative*, and calls it captious, I know not whether he may not have his revenge at theirs. Besides, Monsieur *Lionne's* letter, I confess, looks of a very different style from his Master's, and, in my judgment, artificial: nor do I understand great Ministers reasoning upon the intentions of Crowns, rather from common report, from passages of private mens letters, or of books made for argument, than from the open and positive declaration of Ministers, who ought to know their powers best, and how to use them. Besides, they give the *Spaniards* very fair play against them in this kind of war, by an action I am very much unsatisfied in, which is, beginning and continuing the siege of *Genap* about four leagues from hence, now the eighth day after the accord granted by *France* for the suspension of arms, notwithstanding our signification of it to the commander of those troops; besides the siezing of another castle five days after the said accord, though the courier came in two days from *Paris*, and the same haste might as easily have been made upon the other errand. In short, if *France* pretends to be believed here, they must give deeds as well as words; and will shew the sincerity of their

their intentions for peace, by consenting to the truce till the end of *May*, accepted already here; since if there should be any defect in the Marquis's powers, it may be easily supplied with a little time, and any delay in the choice of the *alternative* repaired. In the mean while I will hope by the next courier to give you satisfaction in those points; for I neither know why the Marquis should be difficult in making his choice upon the *alternative*, or exposing the material clauses of his powers, which I will assure you are as full, in my apprehension, as can be granted. In the mean time, this courier goes to you with a duplicate of Monsieur *Colbert's* Pass, (which was sent some time since to the *Internuncio* at *Aix*) with the orders sent out for the suspension of arms, and with the Marquis's naming a day for the Baron *de Bergeyck's* coming to *Aix*, in case Monsieur *Colbert* can be ready in that time; though I do not see how the treaty can begin till his Majesty's and the *States* Ministers can be there, as well as two principals; and, in that regard, as well as many others, it will be absolutely necessary to obtain *France's* consent to the truce, if they would have us believe they intend the peace, and, in the mean time, to procure orders for the suspension of arms before *Genap*, as well as all other places.

To-morrow I expect an audience upon the choice of the *alternative*; though I confess I did not think, any more than the Marquis, that such declaration was necessary before the Ministers meeting at *Aix*; but the compliance must be on the weaker side, and to that purpose, I shall use my best endeavours, and remain,

S I R, &c.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 16. N. S. 1668.

BY your Lordship's of the 28th past, I am put out of pain for the *Merlin* yatch, and return of the ratification upon the last treaty. The error in the forms of the preceeding instruments sent over for his Majesty's ratification, was, I suppose, occasioned, as your Lordship says, by the omission of signing both parts, which I confess was offered me by the *Dutch* Commissioners, but being unpractised in those forms, I chose to follow the Ambassador's example at *Breda*, who signed but one.

Your Lordship sees how ill a Minister I am likely to make, if ever I must enter upon new forms, or a character that requires being more punctual in them. I shall however say no more in answer to what your Lordship has hinted to me about the journey to *Aix*, having written from *Antwerp* all that occurred to me upon it: after which I know very well, it becomes me to leave all to the King's pleasure. I have asked the Marquis, with what character he will send the Baron *de Bergeyck*; he says, in quality of *Plenipotentiary*, but in the rest, with power to take upon him that character the *French* Minister shall assume. He plainly acknowledges that in right he cannot send any man with the title of an *Ambassador*, which lies only between two Sovereigns; and I know not why the character of *Plenipotentiary* may not agree with that of *Envoy Extraordinary* on all hands. But the light in this point must be drawn from *France*, and not from this place.

Last night at an audience jointly with the *Dutch* deputies (which I had disposed in the morning with the Marquis, and with difficulty enough) his Excellency was content to declare his choice of the *alternative*,
which

which was to leave *France* their conquest of last campaign, and likewise to promise us a transcription of the most material clauses: both to be sent to Sir *John Trevor* and *Mr. Van Beuningham* at *Paris*, to enable them to give that Court satisfaction upon their least objections against the Marquis's acceptation of the *alternative*. So that we have now gained the utmost point that can be desired here in pursuit of our treaty, and must leave the rest upon their hands at *Paris*.

The Marquis took occasion at the same time to complain hard of the *French* breaking the suspension by the attempt upon *Genap*, which was yielded to them two days since upon conditions, after a large breach with their cannon, and seems to be designed for a post to block up this town, which they would certainly do if they could possess themselves of *Terveur* and *Vilvorde*; the first being an abandoned place, and the second not tenable without forces to relieve it. I do not see how his Majesty and the *States* can refuse to oblige *France* to restore *Genap* within the time of the suspension, since no pretence of mistake or delay in the orders can appear at all sincere without the restitution, the siege continuing to the eighth day after the accord made for the suspension at *Paris*.

The Marquis seems to apprehend, that the effects of our having obtained from him all that *France* can demand in pursuit of their former proposals, or we in pursuit of our treaty, will be a sudden throwing off the mask on the *French* side, and making what advances they can in the war, before we and *Holland* are in posture to enter upon defence of this country, and therefore presses all that can be, our arming, and concerting how to proceed in such a case: and I suppose his Majesty may think fit to encourage *Holland* that is so near, and already armed, to furnish them here with three or four thousand foot, for defence of their towns upon the first motions of the *French* to attack any of them;

them; with assurance that his Majesty will fall into the same course, with all possible speed and vigour, and in the ways that shall be concerted.

For the supplies of money from hence, I can yet say no more than in my former, though I omit no instances upon that subject: but I doubt in the present posture here, the King will lose his right, which they say will be, where nothing is. And I cannot yet find any thing drawn to a conclusion in the negotiation with *Holland*, for the money upon their towns. The Marquis shewed me *Don Estavan's* last letters yesterday upon that matter, which says, that the *Dutch* insist peremptorily upon all the *Spaniards* hold in *Gelderland*, and besides, upon *Damme* and two other forts in *Flanders*. On the other side, the *Spaniards* are unwilling to conclude, if a peace be like to ensue; by which means, parting from those places to the *Dutch*, and at the same time so many other to the *French*, would leave them hardly any thing here they would think worth their pains to keep: so that the conclusion of this money-matter between them, will depend upon the *French* King's answer to the truce till the end of *May*, and fuller declaring the continuance of his satisfaction upon the *alternative*; and even then I doubt it may be necessary for me to make a journey into *Holland*, for the perfecting that treaty between them and the Marquis, who has not yet found out the persons or ways of treating to any purpose with them. In the mean time, if I knew how far I might engage his Majesty to arm in the defence of these countries, since *Spain* has accepted all we propose in our treaty; I would endeavour to induce the Marquis to conclude a treaty to that purpose, and for furnishing his Majesty thereupon, with certain sums at certain times, thereby to make the debt at least from *Spain* a certain thing whenever the money could be found. I hope to receive some light from your Lordship upon this, in answer

swer to a former of mine, and the mean while will prepare the matter with the Marquis.

I am sufficiently warned upon the point of the *Pavilion*, and will hope his Majesty's constancy therein proceeds from a resolution to take those courses and councils which may make him as much feared abroad as any of his ancestors were, in whose time that point was first gained; for without that, our pretensions will grow *vain* at present, and in time *obsolete*. In the mean while, I hope some expedient will be foreseen, that may prevent the inconveniencies or unkindnesses which may happen between us and the *Dutch* upon this point in the present conjuncture; and in case of necessity, to join our fleets. The indignity offered us by *la Roche* in landing armed men in *England*, and the rest, seems the greatest I have ever heard of that kind: and how far moderation in resenting and revenging injuries, is a virtue in a *Prince*, or a *State*, as well as in a private Christian, I will not take upon me to judge. That which I know best is, that.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, March 20. N. S. 1668.

THE day after the last *English* packet's arrival, I received your Lordship's of the 2d by the *Dutch* Resident's conveyance, which, together with some expressions I made out of your letter, gave me occasion to conclude that your Lordship at the writing of it believed me in *Holland*; I know not whether upon something written by the Marquis or me; but that journey, I see, the Marquis would have depend upon the *French* answer to our last dispatch, and their consenting or refusing the proposed truce till *May*, from which

which he supposes it will be easy to guess a peace or a war. In the mean time I was in hopes to receive some particular commands or instructions for my carriage in *Holland*, not desiring to be left so much at large; and it is very possible I ought to have received them by your Lordship's last; but that new cypher will, at one time or other, cast me into despair; for, by all our skill, we cannot make out one syllable of the two long paragraphs; though making out the last short one very easily, makes us see the fault must be on the writer's side, and I am apt to imagine the exactness required to this cypher, is more than can agree with the haste often necessary in your Lordship's office; having observed frequent mistakes in the use of the old cypher, which yet never hindered my collection of the sense, whereas the least of this is mortal to the whole paragraph.

I cannot yet come to any adjustment with the Marquis upon the chief point recommended to me, though I have often fallen upon the discourse, and endeavoured to engage it farther by the offer of a project I have drawn up to that purpose; but he assures me your Lordship is fallen upon it with the Count *de Molina* and Baron *de l'Isola* in *England*, and when you have agreed it, will send it over hither for his Excellency to perfect; which I confess I think were the better way, since I am but very generally instructed in it: however, his Excellency desired me this morning to perfect the draught I had projected, that in case we found it not concluded in *England*, it might be ended here.

I doubt, he will not be induced to part with what the *Dutch* demand in *Gelderland*, till he foresees plainly an inevitable war; and till that conclusion, or *Don John's* arrival, all will be misery here, what could be spared being gone out upon new levies and recruits, and the very *Spaniards* late arrived here falling already
into

into want ; which is a piece of husbandry of all others I cannot understand, the old troops every day diminishing as the new levies advance. But they assure me, *Don John* brings with him in bars a million and a half of crowns, and another million and a half of the same money in remises ; which is the life of all hopes here, tho we cannot yet be certain of his having left *Madrid* ; the last letters of the 29th past mentioning his indisposition, at the same time with his design of parting three days after.

Your Lordship will have found that all I could uncipher in your last was already performed here, both upon the choice of the *alternative*, as well as satisfaction in the powers, and disposition of the Baron *Bergeyck's* parting for *Aix* : however, I failed not to mind the Marquis of the last this very morning ; who assured me the Baron should certainly be there by the day appointed, which is the 27th of this month, and that his equipage was already well advanced ; but however the completing of it should not hinder his journey. The Baron tells me that *France*, upon designing Monsieur *Colbert*, declared his character to be of *Ambassador Plenipotentiary*, with reserve of joining another to him as chief of the ambassy in case of the Marquis's going ; but that he (the Baron) knows not yet in what quality he shall go, leaving it wholly to the disposition of the Marquis.

I have this week a long and hearty assurance from Monsieur *de Witt*, of the *States* resolutions to pursue the effects of our treaty, with all the vigour that can be ; and for that end, of their having given the first rendezvous to their army near *Bergen op Zoom*, from whence they may easily fall into the defence of the *Spanish* towns, upon the first attempt of the *French* after they have refused the peace : which they must now suddenly unmask themselves in, one way or other ; no farther pretences being left, since our last *Friday* packets, which were repeated by an express on *Sunday*, and shall

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go by another this week for surety sake; (and your Lordship may be assured we omit no cautions we can use, in the matter of our dispatches, of which none yet has failed us: the suspension of enterprizes is owned by the *French* Commanders since the taking of *Genap*: so that there is little now that furnishes talk here, besides the shameless treason by which *Burgundy* was lost, and of which the Marquis d' *Yenne* the Governor, his nephew the Count de *St. Amour*, and Don *John de Batteville* have chief honour; the last being employed by the Marquis to treat with the *Suitzers* for the protection of that country. The villany and foulness of this action make the *Spaniards* say here, that a great King should rather have sent his *Lacquays*, than gone himself, to receive such a conquest.

I am ever, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, *Brussels, March 23. N.S. 1668.*

I Believe you may wonder on that side, as well as many do on this, both here and in *Holland*, at the election the Marquis has lately made, of the alternative offered by *France*, after so long a deliberation, as might have served him to make a wiser choice. For if *Spain* had parted with the county of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and *St. Omer*; tho' they had furnished *France* with a better frontier, yet they had kept a good one for the rest of these countries on both sides; whereas, parting with the late conquered places, besides their large dependencies, which streighten their territories, that should maintain their armies; their whole frontier is laid open on the side of *Flanders*, by the loss of *Douay*, *Lisle*, and *Tournay*, and, on the other side, by that of *Aeth* and *Charleroy*, which leaves the *Spaniards* the open towns

towns of *Lovain* and *Brussels* for a frontier on this side, and those of *Ghent* and *Bruges* on the other; and the country so pierced by the *French* conquest, as what remains, will be the work but of one campagne, whenever the councils or forces of *England* and *Holland* shall fail or delay to defend them.

The reasoners here pretend to say, that *Spain* could not part with the **French County*, because they must with it quit the title they yet retain of Dukes of *Burgundy*; and besides, they would thereby lose their communication wholly with *Lorraine*, and in a great measure with the *Empire*: This last is indeed of weight, tho' the first be but airy. But neither of them, I take, to have determined the Marquis in his choice; and, having in various conferences penetrated his inmost thoughts upon this subject, I judged it necessary to acquaint your Lordship with them; that his Majesty knowing perfectly the dispositions of his neighbours, may the better take his own measures, in this great conjuncture. But, to explain this matter, I must run it up to the original.

Your Lordship remembers, that after the *French* invasions and successes last year in *Flanders*, and the peace at *Breda*; when they found how much both *England* and *Holland* resented the progress of their arms in *Flanders*; they sent a declaration to the *States General*, that they were willing to make a peace with *Spain*, either upon *Spain's* quitting all their right to the late conquered places, or else to the county of *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, *Air*, and *St. Omers*, and would leave to *Spain* the choice of either of these alternatives. The *Dutch* were perplexed what use to make of this declaration, being frightened at the danger of *Flanders*, but newly and faintly reconciled to *England*, and not knowing, how we would take the invasion of *Flanders*. In these doubts I found them, when his Majesty sent me first to sound their intentions, and immediately after, to enter into leagues with them, for our own mutual defence, and

* *Burgundy*.

and that of *Flanders*. The King would have joined with them for the recovery of all the *Spaniards* had lost in *Flanders*, either by a peace or a war. The province of *Utrecht* was for this resolution; but the *Pensioner* and the other six Provinces were for accepting the offer of the *alternative* made by *France*, and obliging *Spain* to make their choice, as well as *France* to stand by their own proposal. Upon these terms the *triple alliance* was concluded, but with different views, both of *Holland* and of *Spain*. The truth is, *Holland* was unwilling to break off their antient amity with *France*, and embark in a war, with the conjunction of such an old enemy as *Spain*, and such a new friend as *England*. They reckoned on a peace upon one of the *alternatives*, and were solicitous only to preserve *Flanders*, as a frontier for *Holland* against *France*, without considering the interests of *Spain* further than as they appeared to be their own. They reckoned certainly upon *Spain's* chusing to part with *Burgundy*, *Cambray*, &c. which lay far from *Holland*, and recovering the towns they had lost in *Flanders*, by which their country would be left defensible, at least with the assistances of *England* and *Holland*.

On the other side *Spain*, tho' they professed the greatest sense that could be, of what they owed his Majesty, upon the late generous advances he had made in their favour; yet they were enraged at *Holland*, for seconding so ill his Majesty's resolutions, and turning it upon the choice, only of an *alternative*, by which the *Spaniards* were to lose so great territories, and part with their right to them, instead of recovering the possession they had yet only lost. They took it as the greatest indignity in the world, that *Holland* should pretend to oblige the Crown of *Spain* to accept the very conditions of *France*, after an invasion so unjust, as they esteemed this last. They were at first upon the thoughts of parting with all they had in the *Low Countries* to *France*, upon

upon some equivalent on the side of *Spain*; and thereby both end the charge of keeping *Flanders*, and be revenged upon the *Dutch*, by leaving them open and exposed to the neighbourhood of *France*. The Marquis once assured me, that most of the council of *Spain* were for making this desperate peace; and that for his own part, he was inclined to it, tho' more out of spite to the *Dutch*, than what he thought was the true interest of *Spain*. After some pause, this heat of the *Spaniards* began to cool: they saw the *Spanish* Crown, by parting with *Flanders*, must abandon all commerce with the Princes and States on this side that country; and that upon a new war with *France*, about the succession, they should have no way left of diverting the *French* forces from falling upon *Spain* it self. And so, with much ado, they resolved to accept the *alternative*; but left the choice to the Marquis here, as best enlightened in all the interests of *Flanders*, as well as the dispositions of their neighbours.

The Marquis hated the peace, upon either of the *alternatives*, and desired nothing but the continuance of the war, with the assistance of *England* and *Holland*, to which he saw his Majesty inclinable, and thought the *States* would be induced to, rather than venture an agreement between *Spain* and *France*, for the exchange of *Flanders*: he thought, that, if they yielded *Burgundy* and the remote frontiers, *Holland* would be secure, and *France* would perhaps be contented to let the peace rest upon those terms during the King of *Spain's* tender life: but if he yielded all the late conquered towns to *France*, *Holland* would be in perpetual alarm for the danger of the rest; *England* would be likewise the more concerned, and both being obliged to be continually armed, to prevent the danger of *Flanders*, would find it their interest, rather to enter into such a war, as might end in a safer peace, than by a patched peace to lie always in danger of a new war, whenever *France* should be in

a condition of carrying the rest of *Flanders*, by any sudden invasion, or by any discontent of councils or interests between us and *Holland*.

Besides, the Marquis imagines, that *France* will either endeavour to avoid the peace now offered; or, if they conclude it for the present, that being possessed of the frontiers of *Flanders*, they will not long resist the temptation of carrying the rest, being in a manner but open country; and thereby engage both us and *Holland*, to assist *Spain* with all our forces, which he thinks, must make the war prosperous, or a peace secure. So that, upon the whole, the Marquis has chosen this *alternative*, not from any desire of making the peace at present; but only in the view, either of carrying on the present war, or of making another with the strength of his neighbours.

Your Lordship may easily judge, how much the *Dutch* are like to be disappointed and offended with the *Spaniards* for this choice: so that I cannot pretend to guess what is like to become of a peace which both *France* and *Spain* come to so unwillingly, and which *England* and *Holland* promote upon conditions, which they both dislike. And so I leave this perplexed affair, and ask your Lordship's pardon for this long deduction, which I should not have troubled your Lordship or myself with; but that I thought you would come to know the true springs of it no other way: and which I could not have known, if the Marquis were not a very warm talker, and sometimes farther than he intended.

I am ever, &c.

To

To Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, March 25. N. S.

SIR,

1668.

BY Monsieur Van Beuningen's dispatches of the 21st, you will have known the answer of the French Court upon the truce we desired, which in my opinion seems to make the war inevitable; and that all the appearances France has made of desiring a peace, are levelled at no other mark but to slacken the resolutions of the allies from assisting Flanders; or at least, to gain six weeks time to enlarge their conquests, before the Spaniards can either receive the recruits they expected, or the assistance of their neighbours for defending their most considerable places. For, as to what the French propose, of restoring all they shall conquer between the end of this month and the 15th of May, it seems to me to be too gross, and to discover a contempt of our wit as well as of our treaty: for, if all our offices and offers to make Spain ratify what the Marquis has accepted, are not sufficient to withhold them six weeks, from what they pretend to restore, how will they be capable of restoring for ever what they have already taken. I cannot see how their manner of accusing and making exceptions to the absolute powers
of

A Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, le 25 Mars.

Monsieur,

S. N. 1668.

VOUS avez appris par les dépêches de Monsieur Van Beuningen du 21 du courant, la réponse de la Cour de France sur la trêve tant désirée: cette réponse selon moy semble rendre la guerre inevitable; & il paroît que toutes les mines que la France fait de la vouloir, ne tendent à autre but qu'à refroidir les allies sur le secours de pais bas, ou du moins, à gagner un mois & demy de tems, afin de pousser ses conquêtes, avant que les Espagnols puissent recevoir leurs recrutes, ou des secours de leurs voisins pour munir leurs plus importantes places. Car, à l'égard de l'offre qu'elle fait, de restituer tout ce qui sera conquis entre la fin de ce mois & le 15 de May, cela me paroît trop grossier, & decouvre même son mépris pour nos esprits aussi bien que de nôtre traité. Car, si tous nos soins, & nos bons offices, joints à l'offre que nous faisons de faire ratifier par l'Espagne les articles déjà acceptés par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, n'ont pu obtenir de la France qu'elle renonce pour six semaines au dessein de tenter de nouvelles conquêtes, qui sont, au reste, les seules qu'elle offre de restituer; si tout cela, dis je, est vray, nous pouvons-nous flater que nous en obtiendrons la restitution entiere. Je ne voy pas que leur maniere de chicaner, & de faire

of a Minister of *Spain*; and all this founded upon particular intelligence they pretend to have from the court at *Madrid*, nor the formal objections they make against the delegation of the Baron de *Bergeyck*, when at the same time they send Monsieur *Colbert* to *Aix la Chapelle*; how, I say, all this can admit better interpretation in what regards their intentions for the peace: for in whatever comes from these Ministers at *Paris*, I think one may discover an irregular ambition under a great deal of affectation and disguise, whereof God only knows the issue.

For myself, I will tell you in confidence, and with my usual freedom, my opinion in all this. I think then in the first place, that by all our negotiations, though never so well managed; by all our offices and caresses, we shall never obtain a peace from *France*, while they have any appearances of pursuing their interest or their glory in carrying on the war: and, that the only way of disposing them to a peace, is to order it so, as they may only find their interests in it; which we can no otherwise do, but by shewing them the strength of our forces, and the firmness of our resolutions before the war begins; and since we only draw a war on ourselves by desiring a peace,

faire des exceptions contre les plaints pouverirs d'une Ministre d'Espagne, & tout cela fondé sur les avis particuliers que la France pretende avoir de la cour de Madrid, non plus que les objections formelles qu'elle fait contre la delegation du Baron du Bergeyck, en meme tems qu'elle envoie Monsieur Colbert à Aix la Chapelle, puissent recevoir de meilleurs interpretations par rapport à leurs intentions pour la paix: car dans tout ce qui part de ces Ministres, il me semble qu'on decouvre une ambition derégulée, qui se couvre sous une adresse recherché, & des manieres trop étudiées pour etre sincerés. Dieu sçait ce qui en est.

Pour moy, je vous diray avec ma confiance & ma franchise ordinaires, mon sentiment sur tout cela. C'est, que par toutes sortes de negotiations les mieux conduites, par toutes sortes de cajoleries, & de caresses, & par tant de bons offices réitérés, nous ne pourrons jamais obtenir la paix de la France, pendant qu'elle est flatée par les apparences; & qu'elle juge qu'il est & de son intérêt & de sa gloire de pousser la guerre; & que par consequent, le seul moyen de la disposer à la paix c'est de faire en sorte que la paix seule puisse s'accorder avec ses intérêts. Pour cela il me semble, que la seule voye qui nous est offerte, est de faire une grande montre de nos forces, de paroître bien resolu à la guerre, avant que la guerre commence: car

to endeavour on the contrary to draw on the peace by making all the appearances of desiring a war.

Therefore I think, that what remains to be done is, to advance as much as possible our preparations and forces by sea and land; and let the most Christian King know by our Ministers, that since his Majesty still declares he is content with the *alternative* already accepted by the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, and that all the difficulty his Majesty finds, is only upon the powers of the said Marquis, and the sincerity of intentions, in the Court of *Spain*: we therefore desire his Majesty to give us so much time by a suspension of arms, as may be sufficient to send a dispatch to *Madrid*, and return to *Paris* with a full and plain answer from the King of *Spain* upon the *alternative*. (And truly I think, a month's time will be sufficient after the dispatches of our expresses from *Paris*.) But in the mean time to add, that if his Majesty refuses us a demand so necessary to the peace of *Christendom*, and will still carry on his arms without consideration of the offers of *Spain*, or offices of the allies: that upon the first advances he shall make to attack the rest of *Flanders*, we will march with our forces to defend it, and endeavour farther

puisque nous attirons la guerre en voulant trop fortement la paix, il faut tâcher au contraire d'attirer la paix, en faisant toutes les mines de vouloir la guerre.

C'est pourquoy, il me semble que ce qui reste à faire, c'est de hâter nos preparatifs, & de mettre toutes nos forces en état tant par mer que par terre: de faire dire en même tems par nos Ministres au Roy tres Chretien, que puisque sa Majesté paroît disposée à se contenter de l'alternative déjà acceptée par le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & que toute la difficulté roule sur les pouvoirs du dit Marquis, & sur la sincerité des intentions de la cour d'Espagne; nous la prions de nous accorder par une suspension d'armes autant de tems qu'il en faut pour dépêcher à Madrid, & de Madrid revenir à Paris avec une reponse, j'entens une reponse nette & précise de la Reine d'Espagne, touchant l'alternative, dont les deux parties témoignent se contenter (& pour moy il me semble, qu'un mois apres le depart de nous couriers de Paris, sera suffisant.) D'ajouter en même tems, que si sa Majesté nous refuse une demande si nécessaire au repos de la Chretienté, & veut sans egard pour les offres d'Espagne, & les offices des allies, pousser ses armes plus loin; que sur la premiere demarche qu'elle fera pour attaquer le reste des Pais-Bas, nous ferons avancer nos troupes pour les defendre, & tâcherons de produire une puissante diversion tant par mer que par terre.

by all ways to give him a diversion both by sea and land.

This I think is all that is left us to do upon the present state of affairs, for obtaining the peace: and as to the inward dispositions of the Spaniards, I will tell you, that there is not one of them here, of the least consideration, who does not desire it, and think it wholly for the present interest of Spain: and the Marquis assures me in confidence, that he has not only the power exhibited, but that the King his Master has given him others, by which he leaves him absolute arbiter of the conditions of the peace, according as conjunctures shall serve to make him accept either an equal or a disadvantageous one. And all the delays of Don John seem only to proceed from their hopes of a peace upon the project of our treaty.

In the mean time I am glad the States have sent Monsieur Van Beverning to be at Aix with the Ministers of both Crowns; I doubt not but the King my Master will do the same, when he shall have received advice of their departure; for forms must be observed as well as substance; though for my share I cannot imagine to what effect this congress will meet: France having declared itself already upon the invalidity of the delegation in particular, as well as of the powers in general. And

Voilà ce me semble tout ce qui nous reste à tenter sur l'état présent des affaires, afin d'obtenir la paix. Et pour ce qui est des dispositions intérieures des Espagnols, je vous diray, qu'il n'y en a pas un seul icy tant soit peu considerable, qui ne la souhaite, & qui ne croit y voir l'intérêt présent de l'Espagne. Le Marquis m'a assuré en confiance qu'il n'a pas seulement les pouvoirs exhibés, mais de plus, que le Roy luy en a donné encore un autre, par lequel il le rend arbitre absolu des conditions de la paix, selon que les conjonctures le devront déterminer à la recevoir à des conditions ou égales ou desavantageuses. Et tous les retardemens de Don Juan ne semblent provenir que de ce qu'il espère une paix conforme au projet de notre traité.

En attendant, je suis bien aise de ce que les Etats font partir Monsieur van Beverning, pour se trouver à Aix avec les Ministres des deux Couronnes; je ne doute pas que le Roy mon Maître ne fasse la même démarche, quand il aura reçu avis de leur départ; car il faut satisfaire aux formes aussi bien qu'au fond; quoy que pour moy, je ne puisse imaginer quel effet resultera de ce congrez; la France s'étant déjà déclarée sur l'invalidité de la delegation en particulier, aussi bien que sur les pouvoir en general.

And truly I think, all pretence of negotiation without a cessation of arms, seems a mere jest in an affair where two months progress in the war may so near end the dispute upon which they pretend to treat.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

ral. Et pour moy, toute apparence de negotiation avant une cessation d'armes me paroît une pure mocquerie, sur tout dans une conjoncture où deux mois de guerre & de progres peuvent changer la face des choses, & decider le difference sur lequel on va traiter.

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Godolphin.

S I R,

Brussels, March 27. N. S. 1668.

I Received lately the favour of some lines from you in a letter of my wife's, which were the first I remember to have seen of yours these five or six months past, though I never failed on my part to entertain the commerce between us as became both our stations, and the kindness with which it began on both sides, as I thought; I am sure on mine, till I took your silence as a civil declaration that you were willing it should end: and the compliance I was desirous to shew you in all things, would not suffer me to deny it you in this. I find it very difficult to answer your last, otherwise than by giving you thanks for the favour of your remembrance, which indeed I thought had been better employed than upon one who has for so long time so little deserved it. For those expressions you are pleased to use so much below yourself, and so much above me, I confess they rather confound than oblige me, since I am not fond of receiving what I despair of returning. I know no reason at all I had to be angry with you, but much rather with myself, if having been once possessed of your friendship, you found I did not deserve it: but as I reckoned that loss among my ill fortunes, so I shall among my good, whenever you return to your former

former dispositions of favour to me, though the misery of the scene where I live, will teach me to be fond of no possessions that I am in danger of losing; and, to a plain equal man like me, the certainty of an estate seems more valuable than the greatness of it. But I have as much ambition for my friends advances, as others have for their own; and therefore rejoice in all your good fortunes in *Spain*, and wish you an encrease of them in your next designs.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Brussels, April 3. N.S. 1668.

I Received some days since the honour of one from your Lordship of the 9th past, and though I owe all the acknowledgments that can be upon it, yet I will not so much wrong your Lordship's time, or my own sincereness, as to enlarge them with much ceremony. It will be enough to say, that nothing can be more obliging than your favour to me, both in the degree and manner of it, arising so freely from your Lordship's bounty and generosity, as well as expressed in a way so frank and so hearty as that of your last letter; and, on the other side, that no man can resent it more, though they may much better deserve it: and that your Lordship can never reckon more truly nor more justly, upon any person's esteem and services, than upon mine, which I humbly beg your Lordship to believe. I doubt you will be troubled with my wife's attendances, having told her, your Lordship had given her that liberty: if ever she pretends your favour and countenance farther than in receiving what the King has made my due upon this employment while I have it, or what his Majesty shall, from his own motion, assign me, upon any new commission; I dis-

claim

claim her beforehand, and declare she goes not upon my errand; for I shall never think that too little which his Majesty thinks enough: for the rest I will be confident neither your Lordship nor my Lord *Arlington* intend I should ruin myself by my employments, or that I should, at my own charge, bear out a character, which, of itself, is enough to turn round a head that has all its life, till these last three years, been used to shade and silence. In case the occasion should break, and my journey to *Aix* should yet fail, I ask nothing of his Majesty, though putting myself in a posture to comply with any sudden necessity of it has already forced me to enter into very considerable expences: but in case I must go, I beg your Lordship that has children, to consider how hard it would be for me to perform such a journey upon my own credit. Whatever it be his Majesty thinks fit to assign me upon such an occasion, if he pleases to order Alderman *Backwell* to furnish me with a letter of credit for so much, let it be what it will, I will live according to what that and my own little revenue will reach, and not spare any little presents I have received in his Majesty's service, where his honour requires it: all I desire is only not to be forced into debts, which, to say the truth, I have ever abhorred, and would by my good will eat dry crusts, and lie upon the floor, rather than do it upon any other consideration, than of his Majesty's immediate commands, and I hope those, his justice, and my friends favour, will prevent.

I beg your Lordship's pardon for troubling you with this strange freedom about my own concerns, which you have pleased to encourage me to, and may at any time check me in it, with the least discountenance, which I doubt I have already deserved. But I will not encrease or lengthen my faults by excuses, nor trouble your Lordship, by repeating any thing of what my Lord *Arlington* receives from me at large, upon the
course

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course of public affairs here; which though seeming to change often in others eyes, appears to me constant in the *French* design of a war; which I believe nothing can alter, but the visible marks of force and stediness in their neighbours to oppose them.

I beg your Lordship's belief, that as I am with very great reason, so I am with very great passion too,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, Apr. 17.. N.S.

SIR, 1668.

I Doubt not but you are pleased as much as I at the contents of the last dispatches from *Paris*, which make us believe, that in two or three days we shall have the suspension of arms to the end of *May*; and then I do not see the least difficulty that can happen, which we shall not easily avoid in the negotiation of the peace; for I see not how *France* can draw back, after the satisfaction we are going to give them at *Paris*: and for *Spain*, I never had the least scruple upon their conduct: and I still believe; as I ever did, that unless we drive them to despair by ill usage, neither the *Spanish* nation in general, nor the *Marquis* of *Castel-Rodrigo* in particular, will have recourse to any base evasions. And to speak to you in confidence (as it

Bruxelles, le 17 Avr.

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

JE ne doute pas que vous ne vous rejouissez autant que moy du contenu de dernieres depêches de *Paris*, qui nous donnent lieu de croire, que dans deux ou trois jours nous aurons une suspension d'armes jusqu'à la fin de *May*; Et cela étant, je ne vois point de difficulté qui puisse survenir, dont nous ne venions facilement à bout dans le cours de la negotiation de la paix. Car je ne vois pas comment la *France* pourra reculer après la satisfaction que nous luy allons donner à *Paris*. A l'égard d'*Espagne*, je n'ay jamais eu le moindre scrupule sur sa conduite; Et je croy encore, comme j'ay toujours cru, qu'à moins que nous ne la réduisions au desespoir a force de la traiter de haut en bas; ni la nation *Espagnole* en general, ni le *Marquis* de *Castel-Rodrigo* en particulier n'auront point re-

cours

it is necessary between physicians) since the resolution you have talked of about driving the Spaniards wholly out of this country, and cantoning yourselves in it: and since so many violent instances made by your Deputies for signing Monsieur de Lionne's project without altering a word, or so much as giving the Marquis any assurance of assisting him in case France should draw back, (according to the orders of the Queen) I have often heard his Excellency say, that if he were now in the council of Spain, he would give his advice without farther difficulty, for making peace with France by delivering this country up to them, rather than suffer such a treatment from all their neighbours, who are more interested in the loss of it than themselves. For it cannot enter into the Marquis's head, why we should give France more assurances than they desire, in case of Spain's refusing the *alternative*, and even contrary to our treaty at the Hague; and yet refuse to give Spain the bare assurances of the words of our treaty, in case of France's refusal after having driven Spain to all we can ask. Neither can the Marquis imagine why we press him so much to sign a project word for word from Monsieur de Lionne, without first using our endeavours at Paris, to reduce the affairs of Cities in

cours a de honteux subterfuges. Et pour vous dire en confidence (comme il faut faire entre Medecins) depuis que vous avez parlé de la resolution de chasser les Espagnols des Pais-Bas, & de vous y cantonner; depuis tant d'instances reiterées faites par vos Deputez pour la signature du projet de Monsieur de Lionne, sous la condition de ne rien changer, & même sans luy donner la moindre esperance de l'assister en cas que la France recule, conformément aux ordres de la Reyne; depuis cela (dis-je) j'ay souvent oüy dire à son Excellence, que s'il estoit à cette heure au conseil d'Espagne, que son avis seroit, qu'on fit sans marchandier l'accord avec la France, en luy donnant tout ce pais, plutôt que d'endurer un traitement pareil, de la part de tous les etats voisins de la Flandre; lesquels doivent être plus interessez dans la perte de ces Provinces, que les Espagnols eux-mêmes. Car il ne peut pas entrer dans l'esprit du Marquis, que nous donnions a la France plus d'assurance qu'elle ne'en desire, supposé le refus d'Espagne, & cela même contre nôtre traité de la Haye; & que nous refusions a l'Espagne de l'assurer simplement des clauses de notre traité pour elle, en cas que la France refuse, sur tout, après avoir poussé l'Espagne a faire tout ce que nous avons voulu. Le Marquis n'imagine point aussi, pourquoy nous le pressons tant pour la signature mot-a-mot du projet de Monsieur

the heart of the country, to some reasonable exchange; as we have always promised him, and as I let him see in one of your letters; nay without once endeavouring to hinder the devastations in the *Franche Comté*. So that by this project, he sees clearly, he must be confined within *Brussels* as in a prison, shut up by *French* garrisons, within 7 leagues of him on one side, and 8 on the other; and that *Burgundy* may be invaded as an open country, without the possibility of defending it a day. And, if the peace be made upon these terms, every one may see that *France* will only wait till we are engaged in a quarrel with our neighbours, or till some misunderstanding happen between our two nations, to finish the conquest of this country, which they may do in fifteen days. However, the Marquis says, that in case we will give him assurances to follow the third of our separate articles, he is ready to sign himself, or give powers to sign even Monsieur de *Lyonne's* project immediately, as the foundation of the treaty; and will rely upon our good offices to negotiate either some convenient exchange for *Burgundy*, or to have it restored in the condition it was taken; or else find means to repair the towns demolished. In case you will not be persuaded to give

Monsieur de *Lionne*, sans faire par avance tous nos efforts a *Paris*, pour reduire l'affaire des villes situées dans le coeur des provinces, a quelque échange raisonnable: cela luy avoit toujours été promis; & je l'en ay moy même assuré par une de vos lettres que je luy ay fait voir. Il s'etonne encore pourquoy nous ne faisons pas nos efforts pour empêcher la demolition des places dans la *Franche-Comté*. De sorte qu'il voit tres clairement, que par ce projet il sera dans *Brusselles* comme en prison, ou en otage a l'égard de la *France*, ses garnisons d'un côté n'en étant qu'à huit lieues, & de l'autre qu'à sept. Il voit de plus, que les forces de *France*, entreront dans la *Bourgogne* comme dans un plat pays sans qu'on la puisse couvrir un jour entier. Que si la paix se fait dans ces termes, tout le monde voit que la *France* n'attendra que le moment de la premiere desunion entre quelqu'un de nos voisins, ou de la plus legere mesintelligence entre nos deux nations, pour achever la conquête des *Pais-Bas*, qui ne luy coutera plus de quinze jours. Pourtant le Marquis dit, qu'en cas que nous luy donnions des assurances de poursuivre le troisieme de nos articles separez, il est prêt de signer ou donner les pouvoirs de signer le projet même selon les termes de Monsieur de *Lionne*, comme servant de fondement au traité: qu'il s'en remettra à nos soins & à nos bons offices pour la negotiation de quelque

give him these assurances, we must endeavour to finish it altogether at *Aix*, whither I shall begin my journey as soon as we shall have received the suspension of arms. And I shall not fail to pursue as effectually as I can, both there and at other places, the accomplishment of this great affair; and shall be glad to receive your advice from time to time, upon the conduct of this negotiation.

Before I go, I must tell you freely, that the less of business you leave between the Marquis and your Deputies here, I think it will be so much the better for the general affair: for, in one word, they are not persons made for each other; the Marquis being of a humour rather to die than be governed in the management of business; and he says, Monsieur *Bourgersdycke* is a man not to be employed but where you absolutely give the law. I have already hinted something of this to you; but now I think it necessary you should be informed of it, that you may do thereupon as you shall find convenient; for I have not observed one

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quelque échange commode à l'égard de la Bourgogne, ou bien d'une restitution en l'état où elle a été prise, ou pour trouver les moyens de réparer les villes démolies. En cas que vous luy refusiez à tous ces égards les assurances qu'il demande, il faudra que nous tâchions de reprendre & d'achever le tout ensemble, & d'un même filet à *Aix la Chapelle*; où je commenceray à m'acheminer dès que nous aurons reçu nouvelle de la suspension d'armes, & je ne manquerai pas là, non plus qu'ailleurs, de poursuivre de tout mon pouvoir la conclusion de cette grande affaire. Je seray bien aise de recevoir de tems en tems vos avis sur la manière dont cette négociation sera conduite.

Avant que je parte, il faut que je vous dise franchement, que le moins d'affaires que vous donnerez à discuter avec le Marquis à vos Deputez, sera le meilleur pour la cause commune; car en un mot, ce ne sont point des gens faits les uns pour les autres. Le Marquis est d'un humeur à braver plutôt la mort, que de souffrir d'être maîtrisé dans la conduite & le maniement des affaires. Il dit, que Monsieur *Bourgersdycke* n'est propre à être employé, que dans les lieux où vous donnez souverainement la loi. Je vous en avois déjà touché quelque chose, mais je croy à cette heure qu'il est nécessaire de vous le dire, afin que sur cela vous en usiez comme vous le jugerez

thing in the course of this affair, which you and I could not have compassed without the least heat or discontent; and I will not tell you the pain and cares I have been at to manage matters between them, and prevent their breaking out into violences upon so many occasions; which I endeavoured by all means to avoid; because I know the dispositions of Ministers are often infused into their masters. I see nothing in the world that can hinder the peace at present, unless France finds some misunderstandings between us and Spain. To tell you the truth, many people would persuade me, that you have changed your measures since I left Holland: but I answer every body, that I trust so much to the sincerity of your proceedings, that I do not doubt, but if it were so, your self would be the first to inform me.

You see what confidence I have in your person, and you may safely have the same in that of,

S I R,

Your, &c.

gerez à propos. Je n'ay encore rien remarqué dans le cours de cette affaire dont je ne fusse venu à bout avec vous sans le moindre chagrin, mais même avec agrément; et je ne vous diray point les peines & les soucis que je ay eus à ménager toutes choses entr'eux, & à prévenir des éclats & les reparties piquantes qu'ils estoient prêts de se faire à tout bout de champ; j'ay employé pour cela toute mon adresse; car je faisois cette reflexion, que les dispositions, ou, si vous voulez, les passions des Ministres ont une grande influence sur celles du maître. A cette heure je ne vois plus rien qui puisse empêcher la paix, si ce n'est que la France vit la dissension se glisser entre l'Espagne & nous. A ne vous rien celer, il y a icy beaucoup de gens qui voudroient bien me persuader que vous avez changé de mesures depuis mon départ d'Hollande; mais je leur repom à tous, que je me repose si fort sur votre sincérité, & à la candeur de votre proceder, que supposé que ce qu'ils disent fust, vous auriez été le premier à m'en instruire.

Voilà qu'elle est la confiance que j'ay en vous, & vous pouvez avoir la même en,

Monseigneur,

Votre, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, April 28. N. S. 1668.

I Never writ to your Lordship in worse health, nor in worse humour, and therefore you could never receive a worse letter than this is like to be. The ceremonies of my journey your Lordship shall find in a letter to Mr. *Williamson*, so soon as a fever, which is now upon me, gives me leave to say one word more, than what I think of absolute necessity; for so I conceive, all I have now written to the Marquis is. The despatch of seeing the Baron *de Bergeyck* yet refuse to sign the project of the treaty, without another dispatch from the Marquis, after that I brought him, is enough to lose all patience; my ill humour I confess is not lessened, by seeing myself here, with equal character to other Ministers, and without possibility in this place, of putting myself in an equipage suitable to them, which I could not think possible neither to provide myself before my journey, considering the uncertainty of it, almost to the very last, and the assurance I came with from the Marquis, of the treaty's being signed the first moment. I assured the Marquis *de Bergeyck*, that I thought it necessary, so that I hoped three days would end our business, which I believed his Majesty would unwillingly see done without his intervention, and would be content to have all men think as they have done here, ever since the convention began (and perhaps every where else) that nothing could be done, till the King's Minister came, and that would immediately close the affair. The rest I must refer to the inclosed copy of my letter this night, to the Marquis, by an express; and beg your Lordship to give me leave to rest a very weary distempered head, which yet can never forget how much I am,

My Lord, &c.

To

220 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

To the Marquis of Castel-
Rodrigo.

Aix, April 28.

My Lord, N. S. 1668.

I arrived yesterday in this city. This afternoon I received a visit from the Baron de Bergeyck, and another from Monsieur Colbert. I treated them both equally; upon a message by a gentleman sent from the Baron to inform me, that he was already qualified Ambassador of Spain, by the letters and powers of the Queen herself. Monsieur Beverning visited me this morning incognito; and all that a great indisposition will suffer me to tell you at present, is this: that it is not possible to make any other paces for saving the Netherlands, but by immediately signing the project sent to the Baron de Bergeyck: for every body expected the signing of it upon my arrival. The French Ambassador declares every where, as he has already done to me, that he is ready to sign this very evening, and in all points as they have been couched by our own Ministers at Paris. And if the Baron makes any exceptions or difficulties, he is ready to give answer thereupon, according to his instructions, and as he shall think convenient: but that Spain must impute to itself whatever may happen by this loss of time. I see plainly, he is ready

Au Marquis de Castel-
Rodrigo.

A Aix le 28 Avr,

Monsieur, S. N. 1668

J'arrivay hier en cette ville. J'ay reçu cette après-dinée une visite de la part du Baron de Bergeyck, & une autre de la part de Monsieur Colbert. Je les ay traités tous également, sur la parole que le gentilhomme envoyé de la part du Baron m'a donnée, que son maître étoit déjà revêtu du titre d'Ambassadeur, & qu'il étoit muni des lettres & de pleins pouvoirs de la Reine elle-même. Monsieur Beverning m'a aussi visité incognito ce matin; & tout ce qu'une grande indisposition qui me retient à présent permet que je dise à V. E. c'est, qu'il ne reste plus d'autre démarche à faire pour sauver les Pais-Bas, que de signer incessamment le projet envoyé au Baron de Bergeyck; cela est si vray que même à mon arrivée toute le monde en attendoit la signature. Celuy de France declare par tout après avoir déclaré à moy même, qu'il est prêt de signer des ce soir même tous les points, tels qu'ils ont été couchez par nos Ministres à Paris. Que si le Baron de Bergeyck fait ou des difficultez, ou des exceptions, il donnera ses réponses conformément à ses instructions, & selon l'exigence des choses; & qu'après tout, l'Espagne ne doit attribuer qu'à elle seule les malheurs qui peuvent naitre de tant de

ready to second and assist the Baron de Bergeyck in any delays that may be given to the affair; and foreseeing that it must at length pass in the words of this project, since we and Holland are already engaged about it at Paris; he hopes either to see the affair break, or to have the honour to make Spain yield at last upon all difficulties they first raised. In the mean while, Monsieur Beverning pretends to think, that after the orders given to the Baron de Bergeyck, and the copies of them sent into Holland, no difficulties can arise upon the signing: and for me, I cannot refuse to carry the orders, and am in the greatest pain imaginable, to see the Baron still make a difficulty to sign without another order from your Excellency. Therefore I desire you in the name of all those who wish well to the affairs of Spain and of Christendom, to dispatch an express command to the Baron, to sign without farther trifling, and to send him instructions for any thing that your Excellency shall find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which I shall have Monsieur Beverning's assistance, but not at all before the project is signed.

de delais & de tems perdu. Je vois fort bien, qu'il est prêt à suivre & à aider le Baron de Bergeyck dans tous les retardemens qu'on pourra apporter à la conclusion de cette affaire; & que prevoyant que l'Espagne doit enfin s'accommoder des conditions & des termes du traité, veu l'engagement où la Hollande & nous sommes déjà entrés par nos Ministres à Paris; il se promet ou d'avoir l'affaire se rompre, ou d'avoir la gloire de faire céder l'Espagne sur toutes les difficultez qu'elle aura mises en avant: cependant, Monsieur Beverning ne s'attend point à voir susciter de nouveaux obstacles, & de nouvelles difficultez touchant cette signature, après des ordres donnez au Baron de Bergeyck, & dont les copies ont été envoyées en Hollande. Pour moy, après l'avoir promis, je n'ay pu reculer à porter les ordres, & je suis dans la plus grand peine du monde de voir que la Baron de Bergeyck fait difficulté de signer avant que d'avoir reçu un autre ordre de V. E. c'est pourquoy, je la supplie au nom de tous ceux qui souhaitent le bien des affaires d'Espagne, & de la Chretienté d'ordonner par un commandement exprès, que l'ordre soit signé, & qu'on n'y marchande plus. V. E. donnera aussi ses avis au Baron de Bergeyck touchant ce qu'elle trouvera bon qui soit négocié dans la suite; cela fait, je pourray conter sur le secours & l'aide de Monsieur Beverning,

If your Excellency will not think fit to comply with this, I discharge myself at least of all the fatal effects that may arrive upon it. I desire your Excellency yet once more, to grant this dispatch to the instances of one who had founded the bottom of this affair with all possible attention, and all the reflexions I am capable of making; and who forms a judgment of it, without other passion than that I have for the preservation of *Flanders*.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, April 30. N. S. 1668.

IN the hurry of these expresses to *Brussels*, all that I can possibly do, is to give your Lordship the account of the state of our business here, in the copy of those letters I am forced to write to the Marquis. To which end the Ambassadors of *Spain* and *Holland* have been very often with me already, though I have not yet stirred out of doors, and they are but now gone successively from my bed-side. The fruits of our conferences your Lordship will find in the inclosed, and will pardon me for doing nothing more at this time, than barely acknowledging, and that in extreme haste, yours of the 10th and 13th, which are come here to my hands: the torn paper is an original of a postscript I received just now in a letter from *Monsieur de Witt*, which I send in answer to one I had lately from your Lordship. The inclosed from my Secretary to *Mr. Williamson*, gives account of all the ceremonies that have been hitherto past.

I am ever, &c.

To

du quel je n'attens rien, tandis que la chose fera comme elle est.

En cas que V. E. suivie d'autres voyes, je me discharge par avance de toutes les suites funestes qui en pourront arriver. Je supplie encore une fois V. E. de donner cela aux instances d'une personne qui a approfondi cette affaire, avec toute l'attention & la reflexion dont je suis capable; & qui en porte un jugement exempt de passion, excepté celle qu'il a pour la conservation de *Pais-Bas*.

Je suis, &c.

To the Marquis of Castel-
Rodrigo.

Aix, April 30.

My Lord, N. S. 1668.

I AM very much indisposed, and God keep me from those accidents, which the despight I have upon the present course of affairs may cause in my illness. All I have to say is, that the Ambassador of France has orders not to change a word in the project as prepared by our Ministers at Paris: the Dutch Ambassador has the same orders from his masters: the Nuncio presses also the signing without any change; and all the German Ministers are of the same opinion.

The Baron refuses to sign without another order from Brussels: upon which the French Ambassador presses both me and Monsieur Beverning to give him an act, wherein we are to witness, that he has been ready to sign ever since the arrival of the project. The Dutch Ambassador protests he cannot refuse; and besides, that if the Baron will not sign tomorrow, he will depart, and return for Holland. The Most Christian King has sent all his officers into the field and intends to follow them in person; so that our Ministers at Paris apprehend some new accidents, unless they are prevented by signing

Au Marquis de Castel-
Rodrigo.

A Aix le 30 Avr.

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

Je trouve ma santé fort ébranlée, & à Dieu ne plaise que les accidens, qu'est capable de me causer le dépit que je ressens du train que prennent les affaires, viennent se joindre à mon indisposition. Tout ce que j'ay à dire c'est, que l'Ambassadeur de France a ordre de ne changer pas un seul mot au projet de nos Ministres qui sont à Paris. Celuy d'Hollande a les mêmes ordres; le Nonce du Pape presse la signature, & insiste sur le même point: enfin, tous les Ministres d'Allemagne sont dans le même sentiment.

Le Baron de Bergeyck refuse à signer sans un nouvel ordre de Bruxelles: la dessus l'Ambassadeur de France presse & moy & Monsieur Beverning de luy donner un acte, dans lequel nous temoignons, que depuis l'arrivée du projet, il a été tous les jours prêt à signer. L'Ambassadeur d'Hollande proteste qu'il ne peut pas le luy refuser; & que même, si le Baron de Bergeyck ne signe pas dans la journée de demain, il partira d'icy pour s'en retourner en Hollande. Le Roy tres Chretien a fait partir tous ses Officiers pour aller ouvrir la campagne, & il pretend les suivre en personne; de sorte que nos Ministres à Paris apprehendent de

signing the treaty. For myself, I have instructions to use all means for advancing the peace in concert with the Dutch Ambassadors; and can by no means disagree with his resolutions. I bear with what patience I can the mortification, to see that I must pass for a person whom your Excellency has imposed on, by giving me an order which your Minister was not to obey: but I cannot bear with patience to see that the affairs of all *Christendom* must be absolutely ruined by a caprice of the Baron de Bergeyck. For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency such a feint as that of drawing from us all assurances you demanded, upon your promise of immediately signing the treaty, and then of giving me a sort of order to the Baron, contradicted before by a counter order in secret.

I should not have left *Brussels*, had not your Excellency assured me, that the Baron should sign without delay, whenever I judged it necessary. I now find it so; and have told him it is so very necessary, that, I believe, *France* would not have carried greater advantages, nor triumphed more upon the winning of a battle, than

de nouveaux desordres, si on n'arrête tout ce grand mouvement par la signature de traité. Pour moy, les instructions que j'ay reçues, portent que je n'épargne rien pour avancer la paix, & que je fasse toutes choses de concert avec l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & je ne puis en aucune sorte me départir de ses résolutions. Je porte le plus patiemment que je puis, la mortification de passer pour un homme dont V. E. s'est jouée, lors qu'elle m'a fait expédier un ordre auquel on ne devoit pas obeir, & que votre Ministre a en effet eludé; mais je ne puis voir qu'avec la dernière inquiétude, que toutes les affaires de la *Chréienté* se brouillent & se perdent par le seul caprice du Baron de Bergeyck. Car je me garde bien de supposer comme les autres, une feinte en V. E. & de luy attribuer de nous avoir tendu un piège, en tirant de nous les assurances demandées, sur la promesse de faire aussitôt signer le traité; & ensuite de m'avoir chargé d'un ordre pour le Baron de Bergeyck, qui par avance étoit détruit par une instruction secrète.

Je n'aurois jamais parti de *Brussels*, si V. E. ne m'avoit assuré de bouche, que le Baron signeroit sans y manquer tout aussitôt que je jugerois la chose absolument nécessaire. Nous nous sommes vus, & je luy ay représenté la chose si pressée, si nécessaire, que je croy que la *France* n'a pas remporté plus d'avantage, ni ne se soit erigée à elle même un plus grand

on the advances they have made in this affair.

For myself, I was never in my life in greater mortification, than what I have born in this affair.

I am, &c.

grand triomphe par le gain d'une bataille que par les avances qu'elle a faites en cette occasion.

Pour moy, je n'ay eu de ma vie une plus grande mortification que celle que j'ay essuyée en cette rencontre.

Je suis, &c.

To Mr. Williamfon.

S I R,

Aix, April 30. N. S. 1668.

MY Master being kept in his bed by an illness that seized him the first night of his arrival here, and since encreased upon him by the constraints he was forced to the next day in the reception of the several Ambassadors, hath commanded me to give you the account of his journey hither; and desires you will help it to pass with my Lord *Arlington* for that promise which he made in his last, of doing it himself to his Lordship upon the next occasion.

He parted from *Brussels* upon the 24th of this month with nine and twenty persons in his company, of which, ten in his own livery. Besides those who belonged to him, my Lord *Stafford*, Captain *Brumidge*, and Captain *Wesely*, did him the favour to accompany him in his journey, and twenty of the Marquis's guard for his security, till he came the second night into the land of *Liege*. The first night at *Louvain* passed without any ceremony, not taking upon him any new character in the *Spanish* dominions: the second night he lodged at *Hirkinraedt*, a very rich Abby of *Bernardin* nuns, where he was received as the King of *England's* Ambassador. The next morning the Magistrates of the town of *Hassel* sent to inform whether he passed by their town of *Hassel* in his way to *Mastricht*, to the

end they might do him the honour due to his character ; but my Master desiring to avoid those ceremonies chose to pass a private way about a mile from the town ; however, he found all the road where it lay over against the town crouded with people, and among them the Magistrates of the town, who in the highway entertained him with a speech, a banquet, great store of wine, and all the great guns of the town at the same time.

The same night he arrived at *Mastricht*, having only sent an ordinary servant before to take up his lodgings : near the town he was met by a Gentleman from the *Rbgrave*, to tell him, that if the hour of his arrival had been known, he would himself have met him on the way, but however would not fail to do it at his coming to town. He was received there by all the great guns of the town, the garrison ranged through the streets as he passed, and at the end of them a volley of their small shot. At his Inn he was immediately visited by the *Rbgrave*, and after him by the Magistrates of the town. The next morning he returned a visit to the *Rbgrave*, who would by force accompany him back to his Inn. As he went out, he had all the great guns of the town thrice round, and greater volleys of shot than the night before, and the *Rbgrave* met him in his coach about half a mile out of town, to perform his last complement, having told my Lord *Stafford* that he had express orders from the *States*, to do all the honour that was possible both to his character and his person.

From *Mastricht* he sent a letter to the Baron de *Fraisheim* here, to give him notice of his intended arrival upon *Friday* the 27th, but withal, to desire him to keep it private, that so he might enter with little noise or ceremony, in regard he came upon a sudden journey and a very short stay, and therefore with the train of the King's Resident at *Brussels*, rather than of his Ambassador. The Baron de *Fraisheim* did his part in suppressing the knowledge of it, but the town having notice

by

by orders they had given at *Mastricht* to that purpose, sent one to meet him in the midway with a complement, and desire that they might receive him as they had done other Ambassadors. My Master referred it to them to do as they pleased, and the rather because he heard that the *French* Ambassador had made a solemn entry about six days before, with a very great train and ceremony; and he thought by this more private entry, to avoid the expectation of any other: so he was received in the town with all the guns and the *Burgbers* in arms, and complemented immediately at his arrival both from the Magistrates of the town, and a Commander of the Duke of *Nieburg's* to assure him that the Duke had given him orders for two hundred horse to attend him upon the confines, and to accompany him into the town, as he had done the *French* Ambassador at his solemn entry, and that the Baron of *Fraisheim's* assurance of his desiring to enter privately, had only prevented that attendance.

The night of his arrival, my Master went about ten a clock *incognito* to the *Dutch* Ambassador's house, resolving to tell him, that upon his arrival here, he intended to live after another sort with him than with any of the other Ambassadors, as well in respect of the near alliance between their Masters, as of their mediation. The *Dutch* Ambassador happened to be in bed, but having heard of my Master's intentions, came and visited him early the next morning without train or ceremony, and gave him full information of all that had passed here, which made good what we met with every where upon the road, that nothing in the peace could be done till the arrival of the King's Ambassador here.

My Master's indisposition that morning delayed his sending to give the several public Ministers advice of his arrival till about ten a clock, and then he was prevented by complements; first from the *French*, and then from the *Spanish* Ambassadors, which were returned

turned that morning, and succeeded in the afternoon by visits from them both in the same order.

My Master, upon his first interview with the *Holland* Ambassador, enquired of him what intercourse had passed between him and the Pope's Nuncio; and finding that after some offices by third persons between them, it had stopped upon some difficulties without coming to any visits or formal complements: he spake to my Lord *Stafford* when he made a visit of himself to the Nuncio, to let him know in common conversation, that my Master finding by what had passed between him and the *Dutch* Ambassador, that the same difficulties were like to befall him, had omitted to give him any advice of his arrival, but to tell him, at the same time, that he was very much a servant to the merits of the Cardinal *Padrone*, upon his acquaintance with him at *Brussels*, and was very glad to hear of the continuance of his health since his last recovery; and so that matter ended, as I suppose; my Master having no instruction in that point, and therefore desiring as civilly as he could, to take this occasion of avoiding farther commerce with him. I have nothing else worth giving you the trouble of, but am,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

THO. DOWNTON.

To the Elector of Mentz.

A l'Electeur de Mayence,

Aix, May 2.

Aix, le 2 May,

SIR,

N. S. 1668.

Monseigneur,

S. N. 1668.

THOUGH my own indisposition, and Monsieur Schouborne's affairs, deprived me of the happiness of seeing him since my arrival in this City, I would

Que mon indisposition, & les affaires de Monsieur Schouborne m'ayent empêché de le voir depuis mon arrivée en cette ville; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu

would not however delay any longer to acknowledge the honour of your Highness's letter of the 12th past, and to make you the offers of my services (since of the King my Master's affection your Highness wants no testimonies.) In the mean while I send your Highness the agreeable news of the peace, the treaties whereof I have at present in my hands; one signed in presence of the Dutch Ambassador, and t'other in mine; which I was glad to obtain by precaution, so to surmount the difficulties raised upon delivering the instruments to the Nuncio. I give your Highness joy of an affair so important to the happiness of Germany; and your Highness may justly do the same to the King my Master, who though at distance, and out of danger of this flame, has however contributed more to the extinguishing of it, than all those who were most interested in the neighbourhood. And since this peace, as well as that of Portugal, has so justly given his Majesty a rank so high among the *Pacifici*; your Highness will join your prayers to mine, that God Almighty will please to add also to his character, the *Beati*. And as your Highness has all reason to believe the King my Master your friend, so I beg your Highness to esteem me always,

S I R,

Your Highness's most, &c.

voulu differer plus long tems sans me servir de cette voye pour reconnoitre l'honneur que V. A. m'a fait par sa lettre du 12, du passé, & sans luy envoyer dans une des miennes les offres de mes services; je dis de mes services, car pour l'affection du Roy mon Maitre elle est assez connue à V. A. & n'a pas besoin de mon temoignage. Et même tems je donneray à V. A. une nouvelle bien agreable, puisque je luy apprendray que la paix est conclue, & qu'à l'heure que je luy ecris, les traitez en sont entre mes mains; l'un signé, en presence de l'Ambassadeur d'Hollande, & l'autre en la mienne, ce que j'ay été bien aise d'obtenir par precaution, & afin de surmonter les difficultez survenues lors qu'on a livré les instrumens à Monsieur la Nonce. Je donne à V. A. toute la joye d'une affaire que importoit au bonheur de l'Allemagne, comme elle la donnera avec justice au Roy mon Maitre; car, quoy qu'eloigné & à couvert des flammes qui devoroient tant de pais, on dira pourtant avec justice qu'il a seul plus contribué à eteindre cet embrasement, que tous ceux qui en estoient & les plus voisins & les plus alarmez. Et puisque cette paix, aussi bien que celle de Portugal a si legitiement placé sa Majesté dans le plus haut rang entre les *Pacifici*; V. A. joindra ses prieres aux miennes, afin que le bon Dieu y ajoute aussi les *Beati*. Et comme elle a tout lieu de croire

*le Roy mon Maitre de ses amis,
je la prie aussi de m'estimer tous-
jours,*

Monseigneur, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Aix, May 8. N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 17th and 20th, which both complain of the ill state wherein the *Swedish* treaty then stood, and command my applications to the Marquis for a remedy.

I have infused it all I could possibly into the Baron de Bergeyck at his return from hence to *Brussels*, which was in haste, and immediately after the signing and dispatching away the instruments of the treaty. Some here attribute his haste to an intention of avoiding any speech of a general guaranty for the peace, which with so many difficulties and delays before the signing, as well as so many declamations against the violence and injustice in pressing him to it, are evidence enough of the force by which the *Spaniards* have been compelled to it; though I doubt of their being this age in a condition of making better use of it. For my part, I was of opinion, that since *Don John* was neither arrived with supplies, nor hardly expected in any time; since *Holland* was so desperately bent upon the peace, without any respect to the *Spanish* honour or interest, farther than joined immediately with their own; since *Spain* had not been able to find means to engage his Majesty or *Sweden* in their quarrel by supplies necessary to both Crowns; and since his Majesty was not in a condition of entering into the business single, upon considerations of honour, justice, or a remote danger; and consequently, since upon the projects made both at a time in *Paris*, it grew evident to *Spain*, *Qu'il falloit passer par là ou par les fenestres*; upon all these considerations, I say, I was
of

of opinion that the *Spaniards* business was to end frankly and immediately upon my arrival here, thereby to have more time for bringing the ratifications of the treaty signed here, from *Spain* within this month, and so avoid all pretexts (which I expected) of *France's* breaking the business, and which I knew they would be strongly tempted to by the *Spaniards* want or neglect of preparations, and by our disconcert for their defence. Upon these considerations I confess I have pressed as hard upon the Baron de Bergeyck, as the *Dutch* Ambassador himself, to finish the affair, ever since my arrival, and was at an end of my patience to see him stop it upon such slight and unreasonable pretences as his two last; which were, first, not to insert his powers, because both his and those of *France* were sharp upon the rise of the war; but Monsieur Colbert's were sent in that style since his arrival here, and only in return of the Marquis's since those he brought with him were soft and without any reflexions: the Baron had been advised by Monsieur Beverning at his first coming to have them changed, had three weeks to do it, and yet made no difficulty upon it till after the treaty was signed, and the powers came to be inserted, which he refused to suffer, saying, he expected new and softer powers within two or three days, and in the mean time would have had the instruments dispatched away without any transcription of the powers, though in the treaty mentioned as inserted: and I believe *France* would not have wished a better occasion to delay the business beyond a possibility of being ratified within the time. This difficulty took up a whole day after the signing; and when the Baron was beaten out of it by main force, he threw us upon a worse; for whereas his first powers, and all he had ever given copies of, or mentioned to any Minister here, had only run, as deputed from the Marquis with the same power to treat and conclude as if his Majesty had been here in person: when he inserted his powers, after having made

made Monsieur *Colbert*'s express stay a whole day, he brings the instrument with a power agreeing in all words with the first, but only those of *Ambassador* and *Plenipotentiary* joined to his deputation, which put Monsieur *Colbert* into such a rage, that he was ready to tear all in pieces; and for five hours Monsieur *Beverning* and I could draw no other answer from the Baron, but that it was impossible for him to do any otherwise, protesting he had no other power here, the first having been returned to the Marquis upon the transmission of this, the advice of which he said he had received from Mons. *Beverning*. With Mons. *Colbert* we had no hopes of prevailing to have his new style allowed, nor had we indeed any reason to press it, being offered upon a surprize, and there being no colour for the Marquis being qualified to send an Ambassador upon this occasion: I was five hours upon the rack with the opinion the business would absolutely break by the delays this would occasion; and indeed out of all patience with the Baron, not believing it possible he could be without his first powers by him, and Monsieur *Beverning* and he were at those heights, that they were several times upon the point of drawing their swords in my room, and I believe had done it in any other place. But after all, the Baron confessed he had his first powers, and order to insert them if he could not make the others pass, but instructions to endeavour that to the utmost; which to give him his due, he acted to a height that I could never have done without straining my own truth as well as my business. And so upon the 4th at night all ended. My dissatisfaction with the Baron *de Bergeyck*'s conduct since I came hither, was, I confess, very great, and my expressions upon it very free in my several expresses to the Marquis, who it seems takes part in it, and owns it so far, as to seem most extremely ill satisfied with the Ministers using so much earnestness here in beating him out of all those designs. I have had three several letters from his Excellency

lency since my being here, upon that subject, but all so ill-humoured and so *emportees*, that I think they had been better spared, and tho' what was particular to me, civil enough, yet some expressions concerning the general proceeding wherein I had the chiefest part, so *picquantes*, that I think I have reason to resent, and am sure have not deserved it from any public Minister either there or here; and having answered them accordingly, I know not upon what terms we are like to be upon my return; and therefore could not forbear giving your Lordship the trouble of this relation, to justify my self not only to your Lordship, for there I am sure it will not need; but if you think fit, to the Count *Molina*, and the Baron *d' Isola* too, who may perhaps have received letters from the Marquis upon our proceedings here of the same style that I have done.

I have been the more earnest in bringing this matter to an issue here, (which the *Holland* Ambassador says had never been done without me,) because I conceived by all I have had from your Lordship, as well as from other hands, not only that you desired it in *England*, but that the peace was necessary for the constitution of his Majesty's present affairs: and since he has had the glory of making two peaces so important, we have now nothing to wish but to see him in a condition to make war as well as peace, whenever the honour and interest of his Crowns shall make it necessary; for that necessity can, I suppose, be no ways long avoided, but by our being in a posture to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make advantage of it. And I think the best time to fall into counsels tending to this great end, will be after the conclusion of this general peace, when no engagement abroad forces his Majesty to have so much need of money from his people. For, the time to repair the harms that storms have done a house, is in fair weather; and to mend a leaky ship, she must be brought ashore.

God of heaven send your Lordship to be an happy instrument in the proposal and application of such councils, and that we may take warning by the poor *Spaniards* example, whose ill conduct of late in the government has so far subjected them to their neighbours disesteem, and insolence, and humour, as well as to their conquests, violence, and oppression; which I confess have been enough to put them upon such desperate councils as your Lordship mentions, of giving up all to the *French* in these countries, rather than be the bare guardians of others frontiers. And yet all these misfortunes are the natural consequences of their conduct, and will never fail befalling any Prince that follows their example. I wish *that* might befall the *French* to temper a little such an over-grown greatness; but I doubt it much, from the present King's dispositions, among whose qualities those of carelessness or lavishing his treasures, I am afraid are none: therefore I wish him engaged in some very charming pleasures, or else in some more difficult enterprizes than his last, and where we may not have so great a share: that which they talk on here may possibly prove so, which is drawing or forcing the *Empire* to chuse the *Dauphin* King of the *Romans*; for though his party be grown strangely powerful in *Germany*, and if *Brandenburgh* be falling into it as is believed, none will be left to the House of *Austria* that I know of, unless *Saxony* and *Triers*; yet such a body so differently composed as the *Empire*, should methinks very hardly move all one way in any new course.

Monfieur *Colbert* talks of his master's sending immediately ten or fifteen thousand men for the relief of *Candy*, which were a glorious and Christian council, and in all ways that can be, to be cherished and applauded: and if any offices could be done towards engaging the *French* Court in that design, by us or the *Dutch*, I think they are not ill bestowed; about which

I have entertained Monsieur *Beverning*, who is of my mind, and have insinuated the same notions among the *Germain* Ministers here, who swallow it greedily; and I hope it may take effect, and help to free all these parts of the jealousy which so great an army must needs give, as this peace is like to leave idle upon the *French* hands.

I intend to begin my journey to *Brussels* to-morrow, Monsieur *Beverning* being gone to day; but I doubt I shall be five or six days upon the way, any thing now that presses me to more than ordinary haste.

I received 600*l.* owing me upon my employment there before my coming away, and was very sorry to find by a letter of my wife's, that the fear she had of my being disappointed in that particular, made her draw up a memorial which it seems the council was troubled with, about my private concernments; I may very truly and justly disown it as I do, and hope she will be pardoned for too forward a care and concernment in that business: for, as to the charge of my journey here, when your Lordship thinks fit to command it, I shall send you the exact account which my secretary keeps, of all I spend, and leave it in your Lordship's hands, for his Majesty to do as he pleases in it; which is all the trouble I shall give you or my self about it.

I am ever with equal

passion and truth, &c.

To

To the Marquis of Castel-
Rodrigo.

Au Marquis de Castel-
Rodrigo.

Aix May 8.

My Lord, N. S. 1668.

I Received yours of the 4th instant; and am glad your Excellency is so extremely satisfied with the moderation (as you are pleased to style it) of the Baron de Bergeyck, while at the same time you are so much provoked at the complaints I made of his conduct here. I shall always openly confess, that seeing Don Juan's arrival with the intended supplies delayed, and perhaps wholly frustrated; seeing Holland so desperately fond of the peace, without considering the interests of Spain; seeing the Emperor appear wholly disinterested in the matter; seeing Spain had used no endeavours to engage the King my Master, or Sweden, otherwise than by fair words; and that his Majesty was not in a condition to enter into the affair alone, upon pure considerations of generosity or of a danger at distance: seeing also, that Spain approved even the first project of peace drawn by Monsieur de Lionne: I thought, upon all these considerations, that it was their interest sincerely to finish the affair, and gain the most time possible, to get the ratifications from Madrid; and

Aix, 8 May,

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

J' Ay reçu la vôtre du 4. de ce mois; & je suis bien aise que V. E. s'est si fort satisfaite de ce qu'elle appelle la moderation du Baron de Bergeyck, pendant qu'elle temoigne être si picquée de l'aigreur que j'ay fait paroître en me plaignant icy de son procédé. J'avoueray tout publiquement, que voyant retarder avec l'arrivée de Don Juan, les secours destinez & promis, & voyant qu'on en seroit peut être frustré; voyant l'Hollande si eperduement amoureuse de la paix sans égard aux intérêts d'Espagne; voyant l'Empereur jouer dans cette affaire le rôle d'un Prince parfaitement désintéressé; voyant que l'Espagne n'avoit encore agi auprès du Roy mon Maître, & auprès de la Suede, que par de belles paroles; connoissant que sa Majesté n'étoit pas en état d'entrer seule dans cette épineuse négociation; & que pour la porter à le faire, il falloit autres choses que de purs motifs de generosité; enfin, voyant l'Espagne elle même approuver le projet de Monsieur de Lionne, tel qu'il l'avoit dressé: faisant attention à toute ces choses, j'ay crû que leur intérêt demandoit qu'ils achevaissent franchement l'affaire; gagnant le plus

and by that means take away from *France* all hopes or pretext of breaking, without such an evidence of falshood and ambition, as would make *Holland* of necessity engage in your defence. And upon the same considerations I urged the *Baron de Bergeyck* all I could, to finish the affair: as soon as I saw, that neither the Ambassador of *France* nor *Holland*, any more than the *Nuncio*, would hearken to propositions of changing any thing in the project. And besides, I thought all the difficulties the *Baron* made upon the signing very unseasonable, and of ill consequence to the affair; and I shewed him how much he was in the wrong to complain of the sharp powers of *Monsieur Colbert*, which were drawn up only in revenge to yours, his former ones having been without any reflexion upon what was past: and the *Baron de Bergeyck* having had three weeks time to send for softer powers, and more proper for treating of a peace. I was also ill satisfied to see him keep us three or four days on the rack till the affair was just breaking, only to insert a new power with the word *Ambassador*, which the *Nuncio* never heard the *Baron* once mention before; there being nothing of it in those powers whereof he had given a copy. And, as insignificant as these accidents seem

plus de tems qu'il seroit possible pour faire venir les ratifications de *Madrid*; & ôtant par là à la *France* tout pretexte, & toute esperance d'en venir à une rupture; à moins qu'elle voulût elle même étaler sa honte & faire voir si à decouvert sa perfide & son ambition, que necessairement l'*Hollande* se trouveroit engagée dans vôtre defense. Ces mêmes considerations ont fait, que j'ay poussé, autant qu'il m'a été possible, à terminer promptement l'affaire, des que j'avois clairement apperçu, que ni l'*Ambassadeur* de *France*, ni celui d'*Hollande*, non plus que le *Nonce*, ne vouloient point écouter la proposition de changer quelque chose aux termes du projet. Et même j'ay regardé toutes les difficultez du *Baron de Bergeyck* sur la signature, comme faites hors de propos, & d'une facheuse influence pour la conclusion de l'affaire. Je luy ay donné le tort qu'il s'est plaint de la forme en laquelle étoient conçus les pouvoirs de *Monsieur Colbert*; il y a crû y entrevoir de l'aigreur, sans faire reflexion qu'ils étoient dressés à l'imitation, & peut estre à l'envi des vôtres; les premiers pouvoirs de *Monsieur Colbert* ayant été conçus sans aucune relation au passé; & le *Baron de Bergeyck* ayant eu trois semaines pour faire venir des pouvoirs plus doux & plus sortables à la paix. J'ay été aussi fort indigné de ce qu'ils nous a
retenu

seem to be, I think they were such, that if Monsieur Colbert, either by his own disposition, or the interests of his brother, had not been very much inclined to the peace, I am persuaded, that this great moderation of the Baron de Bergeyck had wholly ruined the affair.

I am your, &c.

retenu trois ou quatre jours à la gêne; & cela parce qu'il vouloit inserer un nouveau pouvoir avec le mot d'Ambassadeur. Le Nonce n'en avoit jamais ouy parler auparavant au Baron; car là moindre mention n'en avoit pas été faite dans les pouvoirs, dont il avoit donné copie. Quelques legers que puissent paroître de tels incidens je croy pouvoir dire, que si Monsieur Colbert par la situation des affaires & des interêts de son frere, ne s'étoit pas trouvé tout-à-fait porté à la paix, je suis persuadé que cette belle & louable moderation qu'on vante en Monsieur Bergeyck, auroit suffi pour gâter tout.

Je suis, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Brussels, Mar. 22. N. S. 1668

YOur Lordship's of the first current referred me to another I was to expect by the following post, with particular directions how to pursue the *Swedish* affair here; but that being not yet arrived, I have hitherto been only able to make some general diligences therein, together with the *Holland* Deputy in a joint audience this morning. The Marquis's guard consisted chiefly in these points; that what he had promised of sending powers to the Count *Molina*, was in time of war, and with intention of engaging *Sweden* with us in the affair. That the peace has altered that measure; and though he had full powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of war, whose accidents admitted not recourse to *Spain*, yet he had not the

the same in time of peace, but had written effectually upon this subject. That, in the mean time he expected to know the effect of this league, and see the form of guaranty it should produce, with what concert, and what advantages for the affairs of these countries of which he had yet received no particular account from the Count *de Molina*. That he did not understand why *Spain* should satisfy the expence of those months which the *Swedes* had kept up their troops only at the desire of *Holland*, and without any reflexions upon the business of these countries, which was from the time of the conclusion at *Breda*, to that of our league at the *Hague*, wherein Count *Dona* entered, and which seemed the first instance of the *Swedes* concerning themselves in this country or *Spain's* affairs.

The *Holland* Deputy pressed his Excellency hard upon his promise, and his declaring to us, that he had sent powers to the Count *Molina*, pursuing him with *Res non est integra*, and *Mandatum non potest revocari*, and such civil law arguments, till it grew warm, and so not very proper for a man in ill health, nor in my opinion, for the business as it stands; so that I was fain to divert it upon my expectation of new powers and particular instructions, by which I hoped to be able to give the Marquis satisfaction in the project of the intended guaranty.

This morning arrived Sir *John Trevor's* secretary, with directions to bring the business of the ratifications to a period, by carrying one from hence for sureties sake, in case that from *Spain* should fail, which is expected upon the very treaty signed at *Aix*, and withal to concert other circumstances in the manner of the exchange, which is made very imperfect in the treaty; that is, one to be delivered at *St. Germain's*, and the other at *Brussels*. I carried the Secretary this afternoon to the Marquis, and we have fallen upon this agreement; that to morrow he shall return for *Paris* with a ratification

tion upon the treaty at *Aix*, and with insertion of the same powers; a blank now in the Marquis's hands being to be filled up in that form, and to be dated the 16th current, which will answer a possibility of a post going to *Madrid* after the 2d, when the treaty was signed at *Aix*, receiving this ratification there, and returning to *Paris* by the 24th, the day this gentleman expects to arrive there.

For the exchange it shall be made at *Paris*, and by the hands of our Ministers there, who shall deliver the *Spanish* ratifications, and at the same time receive the *French*, with which the Marquis is content, and will proceed to the publishing of the peace, so soon as our Ministers are possessed of the *French* ratifications, which may afterwards be sent hither at leisure. The day we propose for exchanging the ratifications is the 26th, and the 28th for publishing the peace, in case we receive a courier by that time with advice of the *French* concurrence in that day.

For the manner of executing the treaty, I confess I was of opinion, nothing should be mentioned of it till the exchange and publication were passed, since new difficulties may arise upon it, which will be easiest overcome when the thing is done, and perhaps the parties will have begun to disarm: the Marquis was of my opinion in it, and therefore has proposed only in that point, that after the publication, Commissioners may be appointed on both sides to meet upon it, and the Mediators desired by both parties to intervene likewise by there Commissioners, for the better composing of any difference that may arise between the parties, and to whom the adjudication of such difference may be referred; the place of meeting to be *Oudenard* or *Courtray*, as most commodious for adjudication of the limits which may fall in dispute. After this matter thus digested, and promise of the ratifications to be in my hands to morrow by noon, I came away with Sir *John Trevor's* secretary;

secretary; but the Marquis sent after me, to desire he might speak with me alone; and told me, he was to thank me for sparing him this morning in disputes he was falling into with the *Holland* Deputy: that in short, the *Dutch* had crossed him in an alliance he was making last year with *Sweden*, because they would make themselves Masters of the affair; and now would buy the *Swedes* dependance at the cost of *Spain*. That he had all the reason in the world to be satisfied with his Majesty's conduct of this affair, but little in the *Dutch*: that he knew no reason why they should not pay what they had promised to *Sweden* after the treaty at *Breda*, nor why all the money *Spain* could spare should not be given his Majesty upon a nearer league between us, who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generously in the *Spanish* affairs, and who was the best able to support them in case he were in condition to make war without his people's purses: that he expected the Baron *Isola* suddenly here for conclusion of the guaranty, and this affair with *Sweden*: and that at last, if it must be paid by *Spain*, it should be all laid in his Majesty's hands to dispose of as he pleased. I gave his Excellency thanks for expressions so obliging in what concerned our part in this whole affair; but desired him to take it for a ground in all the superstructures to be made upon the present foundations: that *Spain* must not disoblige *Holland* even to oblige us, but dissemble any resentments they had given him, and sacrifice them to the advantage both we and *Spain* received by their present separation from *France*. And so our discourses ended, and we are returned into the same good correspondence we were in before I went to *Aix*, which had been interrupted by some letters I received from his Excellency there, and some I returned in the style I thought they deserved; it being perhaps natural to the same men, to be the least subject to do injuries, and the least capable of receiving them: for it is easy enough

242 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

to find morals for the first, but christianity enough for the last, I doubt is difficult.

I am ever, &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

A Monsieur de Witt.

Brussels, May 27.

SIR, N. S. 1668.

BY my last from Aix I gave you account of the signing of the peace, and was in hopes by this, to have given you also an account of the ratification, which is not yet arrived from Paris. Meanwhile the ravages made by the French troops over all the country, and their approaches to this city, alarm us here, as if they had a design to wrangle upon some formalities, and in the mean time put themselves in a condition to carry the greatest advantages upon expiration of the truce. I will not have the least suspicion of such a proceeding; the most Christian King having already given notice of the peace to the Pope and other christian Princes: and (which is of greater weight) knowing that Sweden has already entered into the triple alliance. Therefore the business that gives me most pain, is to draw from Spain the satisfaction stipulated to Sweden, upon which your Deputies here have without doubt already given you the Marquis's answers, though indeed somewhat cold and uncertain. I have since given him

Brusselles, le 27 May,

Monsieur, S. N. 1668.

PAR ma dernière lettre d'Aix la Chapelle, je vous ay appris la signature de la paix, & j'esperois par celly-cy vous apprendre la ratification; mais elle n'est pas encore arrivée de Paris. Cependant, les ravages faits par le troupe Française dans toute la Flandre & leurs approches de cette ville, causent encore de l'alarme icy, comme s'ils avoient dessein de chicaner sur quelques formalitez, & en attendant, se mettre en état de remporter les plus grands avantages au moment des l'expiration de la treve. Je ne veux point former le moindre soupçon d'un tel procédé dans les François; le Roy tres chrétien ayant déjà donné avis de la paix, tant au Pape qu'aux autres Princes: et (ce qui est de plus grande poids) sachant que la Suede a déjà entré dans le triple alliance. C'est pourquoy, la chose dont je me mets le plus en peine, est de tirer de l'Espagne la satisfaction stipulée pour la Suede. Vos Deputez icy vous ont sans doute déjà communiqué sur cet article des réponses du Marquis, à la verité un peu froides & incertaines. Je luy ay remis depuis, une lettre de la part du

him a very pressing letter from the King my Master upon the same subject, but have had yet no answer, farther than that he has not yet seen our *triple alliance*, nor knows the advantages given to Spain by it; or whether they are equal to Spain and France. He makes difficulties also upon the subsidies of these months past between the treaty at Breda and ours at the Hague, which was (as he says) the first day that Sweden began to consider the affairs of Spain; and he adds, that he has writ into Spain upon this matter, and waits an answer; his powers being more ample in time of war than of peace.

By the thread of his discourse I imagine, that he is sufficiently convinced of the necessity of the affair, and that he will agree to it; but knowing that he has time till the ratification comes from Sweden, he makes use of it, either first to see the supplies of money expected with Don John, or perhaps, because there are some natures in the world who never can proceed sincerely in business, but are always for gaining time, which they will do if they were going to their wedding, as much as if they were going to their execution.

Mean while the King my
Master

du Roy mon Maître sur ce sujet, fort pressante, mais je n'en ay jusqu'icy pu tirer d'autre réponse, si non qu'il n'a pas encore vu le traité de nôtre triple alliance, & qu'il ignore quels avantages y sont contenus pour l'Espagne; & s'ils sont balancés également entre la France & l'Espagne. Il forme aussi des difficultez sur les subsides des mois ecoulez entre la conclusion de traité à Breda, & la date du nôtre à la Haye, qui étoit, dit il, le premier jour que la Suede a commencé d'examiner les affaires d'Espagne, & d'y faire attention. Enfin il ajoute qu'il a écrit en Espagne sur cette matiere, & qu'il en attend la réponse, ses pouvoirs étant plus amples en tems de guerre qu'en tems de paix.

Par la suite de son discours j'ay crû appercevoir, qu'il est assez persuadé de la nécessité de l'affaire, & qu'il y veut venir; mais comme il sait, qu'il a du tems jusqu'à la ratification venue de Suede, il tâche de s'en servir, dans l'esperance que les secours d'argent arriveront avec Don Juan. Mais peut être que ce temporisement a un autre principe, & qu'il y a des esprits dans le monde faits de telle sorte, qu'ils ne sauroient jamais aller rondement en besogne, & qui songent toujours à gagner du tems, lors même qu'il s'agit d'aller aux nôces, comme lors qu'il est question d'aller à la mort.

En attendant, le Roy mon
Maître

Master has thought good to order another letter to be writ to the Queen of Spain herself upon this subject, and to come to an end of this affair, notwithstanding the difficulties that may arise here; and I think it will not be amiss if the States observe the same order, writing a letter to the Marquis and at the same time another to the Queen, to press the affair, and both in civil terms, without sharpening the matter or seeming to make difficulties upon the ratifications of the guaranty, at least not to make them appear greater than they are. I have told my opinion in this affair, and I have dealt with the Spaniards long enough to know a little of their genius; nor do I doubt coming to an end of this matter, as well as I have done of others more difficult, provided we go the same way, as having to do with the same people.

I doubt not but you will be of my opinion, that it will be necessary after the peace is made, to endeavour at coming to some exchange of places as well to remove the French from your frontiers, as to leave the Spaniards in a better condition of defending themselves against any new surprize or attack; and this will deserve your thoughts upon it; I mean the manner by which you must begin and carry on this affair.

Maitre a trouvé bon de faire écrire une autre lettre à la Reine d'Espagne elle même sur ce sujet, pour venir à bout de cette affaire, malgré les difficultez qui se pourront rencontrer icy. Il me semble qu'il ne seroit mal à propos que Messieurs les Etats suivissent la même voye, & qu'ils fissent écrire au Marquis & en même tems à la Reine, afin de presser l'affaire. Ces deux lettres, étant conceuës en termes obligeans, & au lieu d'aigrir le difference, & de grossir lez difficultez, paroissant avoir pour but de pacifier toutes choses, & de tendre à une prompte conclusion touchant les ratifications de la guarantie, pourroient produire un tres bon effet. Voila mon opinion sur cette affaire: J'ay eu un assez long commerce avec les Espagnols pour connoître un peu leur genia; & je ne doute point que je ne vienne à bout de ce que j'ay entrepris, ainsi que je suis déjà venu à bout de choses plus difficiles, pourvu que nous marchions tous d'un même train, ayant affaire à mêmes gens.

Je ne doute pas que vous ne soyez comme moy du sentiment, qu'après la paix faite, il sera nécessaire de faire nos efforts pour amener les choses à un échange des places, tant pour éloigner les François de vos frontiers, que pour laisser les Espagnols en état de se mieux défendre contre de nouvelles surprises & de nouvelles invasions.

Cecy

affair. And, I think, the best occasion of entering into the business will be upon the execution of the peace; and to represent that the restitution of *Burgundy* in the condition it is in at present, is an offer not agreeable to the promises of the most Christian King.

I have desired Monsieur *Beverning* to discourse you about a small particular in our last instrument of the *marine*, which does not seem to me of any importance, but by which some of your good friends have undertook to reflect particularly upon me: but having had no news of Monsieur *Beverning* since his departure, I should be glad to know that he spoke to you of it, and what you think.

I am &c.

To Monsieur de Witt.

London, July 3.
1668.

S I R,

HAVING taken so much part in your good fortunes, and the applauses given you by the world, it's but reasonable I should also take part in your losses, and tell you with equal displeasure (and truth, how much I am concerned at your late

Cecy merite vos reflexions; vous penserez aussi à la maniere dont il faudra s'y prendre pour entamer & poursuivre cette affaire. Il me semble que l'occasion la plus propre d'entrer en matiere sur cela, sera sur l'execution de la paix; & de représenter, que la restitution de Bourgogne dans l'état ou il est à present, est une offre peu convenable aux promesses du Roy tres Chrétien.

J'ay prié Monsieur *Beverning* de vous entretenir sur une petite particularité touchant notre dernier memoire sur la marine; la chose ne me parôit pas importante, mais parce que quelques uns de vos bons amis ont pris à tâche de me blamer moy seul en particulier: comme je n'ay point eu de nouvelles de Monsieur *Beverning* depuis son depart, je seray bien aise de savoir s'il vous en a parlé, & ce qui vous en semble.

Je suis, &c.

A Monsieur de Witt.

De Londres le 3
Juill. 1668.

Monfieur

Ayant pris tant de part dant vos prosperitez, & dans les applaudissemens que vos recevez de tout le monde; il est bien juste que j'en prenne dans vos disgraces & dans vos pertes; & que je vous dise avec autant de douleur que de verité, que j'ay

late misfortune. I have long observed, that your fatigues for the public were eased by your domestic entertainments; and instead of those diversions which others seek in vice and extravagance, you always placed yours in the innocent pleasures of conjugal and paternal affection. I have observed also, how happily you discharged yourself of all affairs of your family upon a lady who now lives no more but in the memory and esteem of all those that knew her; and therefore I am but too sensible how nearly this loss must afflict you; and that it is neither just nor decent to give you consolation upon it so soon. Therefore I will only say, that if it were not for this sad occasion, you would have wanted one great enough to shew the strength of your mind, which is often apter to sink under domestic accidents, than those of Court, or of a war: for by these a man is only hardened every day, but he is softened and made more tender by the others. I beg you therefore not to neglect this occasion of your glory; not to forget, in the midst of your grief, that you have this long time espoused the good of your country, and of *Christendom* it self, in these last conjunctures, to which you owe all your applications and cares. I hope these will be at present some comfort

J'ay été vivement touché de la dernière perte que vous venez de faire. Il y a long tems que j'ay remarqué que votre domestique vous a toujours servi d'unique relachement dans les fatigues que vous causent les affaires publiques, & qu'au lieu de recourir à ces divertissemens qui approchent si souvent de l'extravagance & du crime, vous faisiez toujours consister les vôtres à cultiver les fruits de l'amitié conjugale, & de la tendresse paternelle. J'avois remarqué aussi, avec quelle joye & quelle confiance vous vous étiez déchargé de tous les soins de ménage sur cette vertueuse épouse, qui ne vit plus à présent que dans l'estime & le souvenir de toutes les personnes qui l'ont connue; & par là je ne sens que trop combien sa perte vous doit sensiblement toucher; ni la bien-seance, ni la raison ne souffrent point que j'entreprenne de vous consoler si subitement. C'est pourquoy je vous diray seulement, que sans une si triste occasion, vous n'auriez pas eu celle d'étaler toute la force de votre ame, qui succombe quelque fois plus promptement & plus absolument sous les afflictions domestiques que sous le revers de la république, ou les disgraces de la guerre: on se familiarise avec ces dernières, & on s'y endurecit avec le tems; mais les premières conservent toujours le droit de nous attendrir & de nous toucher infiniment. Je vous prie
ray

comfort to you, or at least a diversion as they have formerly been a fatigue and a pain.

ray donc de ne pas negliger cette occasion de vôtre gloire, & au plus fort de vôtre douleur, de ne point oublier avec quel devoûement, & depuis quel tems vous avez epousé le bien de vôtre patrie, & avec le sien, celui de la Chrétienté, dans ces dernieres conjonctures; vôtre attachement, vos soins, vôtre tendresse mêmes luy sont dûs, puisque vous devez vous même toute entier à elle. J'espere qu'à l'avenir vos veilles & vos fatigues pour la republique vous procureront quelque soulagement, ou du moins apporteront quelque diversion à vos ennuis, au lieu des travaux & de sueurs qu'elles vous ont coûté autrefois.

Having begun this letter only to condole with you upon this sad occasion, I will not intermix any thing of business; only to tell you that the King my master presses me every day to prepare for my voyage, which I shall delay no longer than my domestic affairs have made it necessary after so long an absence. In the mean while I assure you, I find nothing here that can any way change or slacken the pursuit of our true and common interests, which consist in the firmness of our last alliance. But of this I shall tell you more when I see you.

I am, Sir, your, &c.

To

Ayant commencé cette lettre uniquement dans la vûe de me consoler avec vous, je ne veux point la finir en y mêlant quelque chose qui soit étrangere à vôtre douleur. Je ne vous parleray donc point d'affaires, & je vous diray seulement que le Roy mon Maître presse tous les jours sur les preparatifs de mon depart; je n'y apporteray d'autres retardemens que ceux que mes affaires domestiques rendent indispensables après une si longue absence. En attendant, je puis vous assurer que je n'ay rien aperçû icy qui puisse tant soit peu alterer ou rallentir les soins de nos veritables & communs interets, que je fais consister dans la fermeté & la durée de nôtre dernière alliance: vous verrez cela plus au long à mon arrivée.

Je suis, &c.

To Sir John Temple.

SIR,

Sheen, July 22. 1668.

THOUGH I doubt our late motions may have lost or delayed some of your letters, which we have now been some time in want of; yet I presume ours have had their constant course to you, though from several parts: and though mine have not been frequent, upon the permission you gave me to spare my own eyes and time when they are otherwise taken up, and trust to my sister's entertaining you; yet upon my return home after three years absence, I could not but give you some account of my coming and stay here; and of what I can foresee is like to follow it, both as to my own particular, and to the public affairs, in which *that* seems at present to be so much involved.

After the conclusion of the *triple-alliance* and the peace of *Aix*, I was at an end of my ambition; having seen *Flanders* saved, as if it had been by one of the miracles the house of *Austria* has, they say, been used to, and the general interests of *Christendom* secured against the power and attempts of *France*; and, at the same time, the consideration and honour of his Majesty and his Crown abroad, raised to a degree it has not been in for some ages past, and we had no reason to expect it should be in some ages to come, upon the decline it felt after the business at *Chattam*, and the peace of *Breda* that succeeded it. I returned from *Aix* to *Brussels* without other thoughts than of continuing in that station, till I grew wearier of it than I was like to do very suddenly of a place, I confess, I love: but immediately upon my arrival there, I met with letters from my Lord *Arlington*, which brought me the King's orders to continue the equipage of an Ambassador, that I was in, upon my *Aix* journey, in order to my serving his Majesty

jeſty in the ſame character at the *Hague*, whither he was reſolved to ſend me, and to renew, upon occaſion of our late alliances, a character which the Crown of *England* had diſcontinued in that country ſince King *James's* time. In order hereunto I was left at liberty to take my leave of the Marquis, and to return into *England* as ſoon as I pleaſed, which I did by the way of *Holland*, and left moſt of my ſervants and horſes at *Utrecht*.

Upon my arrival here, I was received both by the King and Court a great deal better than I could deſerve or pretend; but people ſeem generally pleaſed with the councils and negotiations, in which I have had ſo much part ſince *Chriſtmas* laſt; and I underſtand not Courts ſo ill (how little ſoever I have been uſed to them) as not to know that one ought not to loſe the advantage of coming home with the common opinion of ſome merits or good hits at one's back, if one's buſineſs be *de pouſſer ſa fortune*; and I am put enough in mind of it upon this occaſion, by ſeveral of thoſe many new friends one would think I had at this time of day, as well as by ſome of my old ones: but I cannot imagine why I ſhould pretend to have deſerved more than my pay of the King, for which I ſerved him in my late employments; and if I got honour by them, it was ſo much more than I had to reckon upon. Beſides, I ſhould be ſorry to aſk money of him at a time when, for aught I can judge by the cry of the Court, he wants it more than I do. The *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador and Baron *d'Ifola*, as well as others of my friends, would needs be aſking a title for me, and 'tis with difficulty enough that I have prevented it; but 'tis that I am ſure I never can have a mind to, and if it ſhould ever be offered me, I reſolve it ſhall either begin with you, if you deſire it; or if not, with my ſon, which I had much rather. But I ſuppoſe, nothing of this can happen in our Court without purſuit, and ſo I reckon myſelf in all theſe

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points just where I was about six months ago, but only designed for another ambassy, and no man knows how that will end. I am very much pressed to dispatch my preparations for it, by my Lord Keeper and Lord *Arlington*, who are extreme kind to me, as well as to the measures lately taken by their ministry, and seem to value themselves a great deal upon them. They say, all the business the King now has, both at home and abroad, will turn upon my hand in *Holland*, by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon our late alliances, and the confidence between us; and by drawing the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into a common guaranty of the peace, and thereupon they are mighty earnest with me to hasten away. On t'other side, the Commissioners of the treasury seem to have more mind to my company here, than I could expect: for after some of them had tried to hinder the King's resolution of sending either an Ambassador at all into *Holland* (upon pretence of so long disuse of that character) or me in particular, when *that* could not be carried, they prepared my way by entring upon new regulations in the exchequer, among which, those concerning foreign employments brought down the equipage money of Ambassadors from three thousand pounds, as it has been since the King came in, to 1500 pounds in *France* and *Spain*, and to 1000 pounds in all other Courts; and their allowance from 100 pounds a week to 10 pounds a day in *France* and *Spain*, and to 7 in other places. Though this be pretended by the Commissioners as only a piece of a general scheme of parsimony they find necessary in the present condition of the revenue; yet I understand it as calculated just at this time particularly for me; and my Lord *Arlington* confesses he thinks it so too, and takes part in it as a piece of envy or malice to himself as well as to me, from some who are spighted at all that has lately passed between us and *Holland*, and at the persons who have been at the head of those councils

councils. For my part, I resent it not only as a thing I have not deserved, upon an employment cast wholly upon me by the King's choice, and, as he seems to think, by the necessity of his affairs; but as that which I find plainly by the short experience of my last ambassy, will not defray the expence of another, with any honour to the King or myself abroad; and though I do not pretend to make my fortune by these employments, yet I confess I do not pretend to ruin it neither. I have therefore been resolved several times absolutely to refuse this ambassy, unless it be upon the terms all others have had; but my Lord *Arlington* puts so much weight upon my going, that he will not hear of it: he says, 'tis *that* our good friends would have, and intend by this usage; and that I can no way disappoint them so much as by going, and that this rule will be broken in three months time: that I should not consider small matters of money in the course of my fortune, and that the King cannot fail of making mine at a lump one time or other: that there is nothing I may not expect from him upon my return from this ambassy: and that if his Majesty had not thought me of absolute necessity to him in *Holland* upon this conjuncture, he had brought me now into Secretary *Moris's* place, which upon my going abroad is designed for Sir *John Trevor*. My Lord Keeper is of the same mind, to have me by no means refuse it (as he says) neither for the King's sake nor my own; and your old friend Sir *Robert Long* agrees with them both; and says, after a year or two of this ambassy, I cannot fail of either being Secretary of State, or sent Ambassador into *Spain*: which are both certain ways of making any man's fortune.

With all this, I confess, I find it not very easy to resolve, and very much desire yours and my brother's opinion upon it: and that you may the better give it me, I shall tell it you with one circumstance which weighs a little with me, though not at all with my friends here. They.

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They are all of opinion, the measures the King has lately taken cannot be broken nor altered, however they may be snarled at by some persons, upon particular envy or interest; but I see plainly there are others of another mind. Sir *Thomas Clifford* said to a friend of mine in confidence, upon all the joy that was here at the conclusion of the *triple alliance*; well, for all this noise, we must yet have another war with the Dutch before it be long. And I see plainly already, that he and Sir *George Downing* are endeavouring with all the industry that can be, to engage the *East-India* company here in such demands and pretensions upon the Dutch, as will never be yielded to on that side, and will encrease a jealousy, they will ever have of our unsteady councils, and of our leaving still a door open for some new offences when we shall have a mind to take them. On t'other side, the *French* will leave no stone unturned, to break this confidence between us and *Holland*, which spoils all their measures, and without which they had the world before them. If they can, they will undermine it in *Holland* by jealousies of the Prince of *Orange*, or any other artifice, and will spare neither promises nor threats. If I should be able to keep that side stanch, they will spare none of the same endeavours here, and will have some good helps that I see already, and may have others that do not yet appear. If by any of these ways, or other accidents, our present measures come to change; I am left in *Holland* to a certain loss, upon the terms they would send me, though I should be paid, but to a certain ruin if I should not; which I may well expect from the good quarter I may reckon upon from some in the treasury; and when my ambassy ends, I may find a new world here, and all the fine things I am told of, may prove castles in the air; there is, I know, a great deal to be said for my going; but on t'other side, I am well as I am, and cannot be ruined but by such an adventure as this. I beg of you to let me

me know your opinion upon the whole; and if I could have the confidence, I should beg a great deal more earnestly that I might see you here, since I cannot get loose to wait on you there. Till I hear from you, I shall let the talk and the forms of my ambassy go on, and am confident, however they presume, yet I can spin out the time of my going till about the end of *August*, in hopes of seeing you here; which will be, I am sure, the greatest satisfaction that can befall,

SIR,

Your's, &c.

LETTERS

LETTERS

TO

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From Sir Thomas Clifford.

SIR,

Copenhagen Octob. 7. 1665.

I Have received your obliging letter of the 20-30 past; and the news of this country is like the commodities, not of equal value with the more southern, and so you are like to be a loser by the barter: but your kindness is the greater. I hope the King of *Spain's* death will no way alter the state of our affairs with that Crown. I cannot tell you the effect of my negotiation here; but shall in my next give you some hints. The direction of your letter brings it safe to me: I shall advise you before I remove. Here came a report last night, that a squadron of the *English* fleet had taken out of *Fleckery* nine of the *Dutch* merchant-men, and ran another on shoar: but I have examined it, and find there was no ground for the report. Two of their *East-India* men are still at *Tunsburg*, near *Christiana* in *Norway*, and two more are returned to *Bergen*: but the six men of war and *East-India*-man that came here in the *Sound* after the

the storm, are put to sea, and gone toward the *Texel*. The *East-India* ship that got into the river of *Elbe*, is there unlading, and they are sending the goods home in little small vessels, under the convoy only of a little toy of eight or ten guns: they go home over the *Watts*; a privateer lying there would probably make his market.

Last night some *Dutch* ships going for *Dantzick* arrived here, and boasted, that their fleet of ninety sail, under *de Ruyter*, sailed upon *Sunday* last, the first instant, towards *England*, and to the channel, as they thought, to join with the *French*, but no body gives credit to the relation.

You see what shift I make to compleat my bill of store; but pray let it not dishearten you from corresponding: for if I have nothing else to say, I shall be glad of opportunities to express myself,

SIR,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Thomas Clifford.

From the Earl of Clarendon, Lord High Chancellor.

SIR,

Oxford, December 28. 1665.

I Do confess I have, since we parted, received three letters from you, which I should be ashamed to acknowledge now, if I had been faulty in not doing it sooner; as I promise myself you have been informed from my Lord *Arlington's* justice and friendship. It is now three months, that the pain of the gout hath restrained me from the exercise of writing: and I am hardly yet returned to it, because not able to put my head out of doors, or more than to stand, rather than walk in my chamber: so that I would not have ventured to have

have given you this trouble, but upon the absence of my Lord *Arlington*, (who hath transmitted to you constantly what we thought jointly :) but upon the sight of your last letter, which came since his departure, I think it necessary to say a little to you upon a particular or two.

I do in the first place think and believe the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* to be a very generous person, and a very useful friend to the King our Master ; and one who will be the best instrument to contribute to that firm friendship between the two Crowns, that is necessary for the joint interest of both ; and therefore we must be careful to remove the least umbrage, which may dispose him to suspect our prudence with reference to our own affairs, or our affection with reference to *Spain*. With reference to ourselves, it is not possible we can be without a sense of the almost insupportable weight that lies upon us, in the carrying on the war against the *Dutch*, and preparing for a war against *France* : and therefore we cannot but heartily wish to be fairly quit of one of them ; and would be very glad that any advance were made to it by *Holland*. I thought always that the overture made by the *Spanish* Ambassador, had come from *Don Stephano*, and never heard the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*'s name : but it being the very same in terms that the *French* Ambassadors had made, there could then be no proceedings upon it. But we have done all we can to invite the *Dutch* to an address how privately soever : nor shall we make any demands concerning the Prince of *Orange*, lest it should do him hurt. If we can bring them off from a conjunction with *France* (in which *Spain* is more concerned than *England*) I am confident we shall insist upon very reasonable conditions. We have great reason to commend the proceedings of the Bishop of *Munster* : nor are we jealous in the least degree of him, or his treating : and as our failing towards him has not proceeded from
any

any faults of ours, but even from the hand of God: so we shall out of hand repair those omissions: and it is but reasonably expected that the Princes of the Empire should (how secretly soever) support him from a dissolution, least before many months passed, and the French designs are a little more evident, they would be glad to repurchase the advantage of the Bishop's being in such a post as he now is, at any price.

There is nothing now ought to be laboured with so much industry and dexterity, as the uniting *England, Spain* and *Flanders*, which would give, and which only can give, peace to *Christendom*. I am sure our Master is passionately inclined to it, and truly I think *Spain* is well disposed in the main: yet I know not how by the fatal delay in dispatch there (and it may be their expectation, that in the straits we are, we shall buy their friendship at a rate we shall never pay for it) the haste is not made that the affair required. My Lord *Sandwich* (who will be gone in twenty days) I hope will give life to it.

You see how ill my hand is, though never legible, by shaking and weakness somewhat worse than usual. God keep you: and I pray let me know, that this is come to your hands from,

SIR,

Your affectionate servant,

Clarendon.

From * Sir George Savill.

SIR,

Feb. 5. N. S. 1666.

IT is a sin against the public, and a trespass upon you, at this time to clog you with such an idle correspondence.

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K k

dence

* Late M. of Hallifax.

58 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

dence as mine: but I find I consider my own interest before yours; being not able to make you an expression of my kindness at so dear a rate as the denying myself the satisfaction of hearing from you. And therefore I take hold of your offer, and beg you would sometimes bestow a letter upon me, which shall be as welcome for telling me you are well, as it can be for the best news it bringeth in relation to the public: for which, if I can be concerned, next to what I am for my best friends, it is the utmost I will pretend to in that matter. I find his Majesty of *France* will be an angry enemy. He doth not declare war, like an *honnête homme*; and therefore I hope he will not pursue it like a *wise one*.

I do not despair, but that the *English* who use to go into *France* for their breeding, may have the honour once to teach *them* better manners. The league with *Spain* is a good circumstance to make us able to do it; it is so seasonable and so well done, that I will suppose you had a hand in it. In the mean time we have great alarms the *Monsieur* will invade us, which makes every body prepare for their entertainment. And I hope they will neither find us so little ready, or so divided, as perhaps they expect.

I will not make this longer, when I have assured you I am,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant.

George Savill.

From

From the Bishop of Munster.

Munster, Feb.

SIR, 12. 1666.

THE favours you have expressed to me are such, that nothing can add to my esteem of you: however, it was very acceptable to find from yours of the 25th past, that your affection to me still continues. In the mean time I am busy in preparing an army against spring; nor do I doubt but such care is taken of the third payment, that I may have it altogether; at least, that you have prepared 30,000 Dollars ready at Brussels, and that 25,000 more may be returned with all speed by exchange to Cologne: for it is certain, that by small sums, and paid by parcels, nothing can be performed worthy of such an undertaking; and that my expedition will be as much obstructed by these, as if the subsidies were wholly delayed. Besides, I shall this year meet with more resistance by enemies unexpected, to whom the Elector of Brandenburg will join himself. But that I hope will be recompensed by the friendship of Sweden, and his Majesty's declaratory letters communicated to me, and to be kept secret. Nor shall any thing be more unviolably observed by me, than the league I have made with his Majesty, from which

Ab Episcopo Monasterii.

Monasterii, Feb.

Generose Domine, 12. 1666.

DOMINATIONEM vestram ita meis rebus faventem reipsa semper expertus sum, ut nulla quidem contestatione meae desuper conceptae existimationi plus addi possit; gratissimum tamen fuit, ex ejusdem literis de 25to elapsi mensis Januarii percipere, quod D. V. eundem zelum & affectum continuet. Ego interim non desino instruere & praeparare exercitum imminenti jam veri; nec dubito de tertia termino sic provisum, ut integrè à meis sublevari possit, aut certè dispositione Dis. Vrae. triginta thalorum millia Bruxellis in paratis praesto sint, & viginti quinque millia Coloniæ cambio quantocius transmittantur. Certum enim est minutis summulis & carptim solutis, vix quicquam pro dignitate tantae rei effici posse; nec minus ex his, quam dilatis subsidiis expeditionem meam incommodi cepisse. Quae quidem hoc anno plus resistentiae & difficultatis à tot inopinatis hostibus, quibus & Elector Brandenburgicus se sociabit, habitura est. Id tamen fiduciâ amicitiae Sueciae compensatum existimo, accedentibus S. Regiae Majestatis declaratoriis literis mihi communicatis, & secreto servandis. Nihilque mihi unquam erit antiquius aut magis inviolabile noto foedere cum S. Regiâ Majestate sancito, à quo

which nothing shall be able to force me. Nor is there any reason why the offer of a mediation from the Emperor and Princes, should raise any suspicions of the contrary, since the present conjunctures would not permit me abruptly to refuse it. And in order to gain time, I have kept that affair within preliminaries, relating to the persons of the Mediators, the manner of negotiation, and the means of security to be proposed, being resolved by any means not to separate myself from his Majesty; from whose protection I trust to procure safety and satisfaction to myself. I am glad of the peace between England and Spain being signed at Madrid, and that it is sent into England to be ratified. I wish the effects of it be not delayed; and that the Spaniards may be ready at the time, against whom I hear the *Hollanders* have also declared war by the instigation of the *French*.

Your most obliged servant,

Ch. Bernardus.

From Sir George Savill.

SIR,

THIS must carry my thanks to you for two letters I received at the same time from you, which giveth me a fair occasion to say a great deal to you; but that

quo nullo modo divelli me patiar. Nec est, quod oblata Caesaris & quorundam principum mediatio umbras aliquas contrariae suspicionis invadere possit; cum illam praefractae respuere nec temporum horum ratio patiat, nec mihi consultum fuerit, qui lucrando tempori inde occasionem nactus, rem omnem haecenus intra pracliminaria de ipsis personis Mediatorum, de modo tractandi, & mediis securitatis proponendis continui, certus non separare me à S. Regiâ Majestati, cujus auspiciis, & satisfactionem, & securitatem me consecuturum confido. Quod foedus Anglo-Hispanum Madriti jam tum signatum, & ad ratificandum in Angliam transmissum sit, libenter accepi; optarem sanè hujus effectum non deferri, & Hispanos tempori paratos esse, quibus etiam ab Hollandis bellum Gallorum instigatione denunciandum intellego: ac hisce maneo

Dominationis vestrae addictiss.

Ch. Bernardus.

April 4. 1666.

that I will not trespass upon our agreement, to omit ceremony, or any thing that looketh like it. Yet you must give me live to tell you, I think myself as much assured of your kindness, by your letting me stay in your thoughts (when you might forget me without breach of friendship, considering the weight of business that lieth upon you) as I could be by any mark of it you can imagine: and if you will suppose my sense of it answerably, and reckon upon my service accordingly; if it may ever be of use to you, you will do me but right. In the mean time you make me sensible of the inconvenience of living out of the world: now that I find it impossible for me to write three lines of sense in exchange for your letters, that are full of every thing which can make them welcome. I am so ashamed you should converse with a dead man, that I almost wish the *French* landed upon our coast, thinking it better to write you a sad story than none. How soon I may be furnished with something of this kind, dependeth upon our success at sea, and the faith of your Bishop, which may well be shaken, if you do not support it with your bills of exchange. He is likely to be so over-matched this next campaign, that I doubt he will be tempted to break faith with heretics, rather than be a Martyr in our calendar. I should be glad to hear *Spain* would come into our scales, to help us to weigh down our enemies; but I fear their ill luck in the late war hath not left them spirit enough to fall out with the *French*, though their interest provoketh them to it. Besides, the Crown is in a cradle; and a *Spanish* Council I imagine to be as slow an Assembly as a house of Commons. So that we must rely upon the oak and courage of *England* to do our business, there being small appearance of any thing to help us from abroad.

I believe before this cometh to your hands, you will be waiting upon Madamoiselle *Beverwaert*, who is a testimony that this war hath given us no such antipathy

thy to the Dutch, since we chuse one to breed statesmen for the next age. The Captain that went upon so peaceable an errand, and into a friend's harbour, had all fortune to be so roughly saluted: but it being a single act of the officer, without any order from his superiors, it is of no more consequence to us than the sound of it may amount to.

I direct this as you did me: and though it should not come to you, I assure myself you would not impute it to the omission, but to the ill fortune of,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble servant,

George Savill.

From the Bishop of Munster. Abi Episcopo Monasterii.

May 21. 1666.

Lugderio, Maii

S I R,

Generose Domine, 21. 1666.

I Doubt not but by your good offices, the reception of my envoy the Baron de Rosenback at Court will be so prepared, as that his Majesty may have an account of my designs: and I hope you will continue your favour so far, as the King may be persuaded that the necessity which forced me to accept the peace, has not taken anything from the profession of that honour, duty and service, I shall ever pay him. To which end I have ordered my agent Rentorf to cultivate a strict friendship in my name, as well as to communicate to you

On dubito officis Dis. Vrae. aditum in aula Regis ablegato meo Baroni de Rosenback ita praeparatum, ut S. Regiae Majestati ratio consilii mei praebeatur: quod Dem. Vram. ita continuaturam spero, ut Rex persuasum omnino habeat istam necessitatem quae mihi pacis leges imposuit, nihil prorsus detraxisse de animo quo S. Majestatis observantiae, gloriae, & utilitati, aeternum devotus sum. Eumque in finem mandavi agenti meo Rentorf intimam meo nomine cum Dne. Vra. communicationem mearum rerum, & amicitiam colere, intentus semper in occasiones omnes

you my most secret affairs, resolving to watch all occasions for the service of his Majesty; in order to which, I have sent back to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo the Brabant troops, as well as those raised in the circle of Burgundy, all entire. And now some German regiments well armed and exercised, are preparing for their march into Flanders, of whose valour the Hollanders themselves are witnesses, as I believe you know already from the said Marquis. Now since it concerns me very much that his Majesty should know these soldiers are kept in his service; I should be extremely satisfied if you would inform the King of it, at the same time that the said Baron de Rosenback will be arrived at London. And that it be represented as a mark of my eternal devotion to his Majesty. In which you will highly oblige me: and in confidence whereof I remain,

omnes futuras pro servitio S. Majestatis; quem in finem copias Brabanticas, & in circulo Burgundico conscriptas, Domino Marchioni de Castel-Rodrigo integras remisi; & jam itinere in Belgium Hispanicum accinguntur legiones aliquot Germanorum; fortis sane & exercitatus miles, de quorum virtute ipsi foederati Belgae testari poterunt; uti Dom. Vram. jam ex praedicto domino gubernatore latius cognovisse arbitror. Cum autem mea plurimum interfit, ut Regiae Majestati suae constet militem hunc in suo servitio conservari; pergratum mihi foret, si Dio. Vra. de eo, facilitandae intentioni meae, quamprimum & sine mora hoc ipso tempore quo dictus Baro de Rosenback Londinum appulerit, S. Majestatem certiores faciat, & tanquam indicium ratum aeternae meae in Regem dei contestetur: quo me Dio. Vra. sibi summo opere obligabit; et hac fiducia maneo

S. I. R.

Your most obliged servant, Dominationi vestrae addictiss.

Chr. Bernardus.

Chr. Bernardus.

From

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Whitehall, July 30. 1666.

W HAT I received in yours of the 2d was written to me at large, from him whom I suppose to be the author of it, but not exactly with the same circumstances: whether his meaning or his imagination fail him, is a great question here. His name, to speak freely with you, is able to discredit any truth: and against the grain I employed him in *Holland*, not to make him the instrument of a peace, but to send us news: however, I do not yet discourage him from writing, though I wish what he saith came from any hand rather than his. Accordingly, you shall do well to handle him: and this is enough upon this subject, when I have so much a better to entertain you upon. Here inclosed you have the effective truth of what I sent you the symptoms in my last. I durst not hazard any of my acquaintance with the putting it into *French*, because of the sea-terms wherewith it abounds: but if you can get it well done, and quickly published, you will do his Majesty a good service, and may fairly put the cost of it into your accounts. Moreover, I have promised his Majesty to charge you with the writing of some small paper, and publishing it in *French*, that may pleasantly and pertinently awaken the good patriots in *Holland*, not only to thoughts and wishes of peace, but to a reasonable application for it; assuring them his Majesty continues still to wish it, and would gladly receive any overtures for it from the *States*, here in his own Kingdom, not expecting less from them in this kind, than they did to the Usurper *Cromwell*. This done in any form you like best, would certainly operate well in *Holland*, and be a work worthy of your pen; which, I know, has sufficiency very much greater. One thing especially it will be good to mind them of, the considerable suc-

cours

cours and advantages they have had by the conjunction with *France*; which had not been remarkably visible in any thing more than in getting their narratives to be believed in all the Courts of *Christendom*, and helping them to make their bonfires for their successes.

His Majesty is going this night to visit the Queen at *Tunbridge*; for which he had not leisure till now. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

Arlington.

P. S. Let your emissaries give you a particular account of the condition of the *Dutch* fleet gotten into *Zealand*, and of the readiness they are in to come out again; with an exact account of their strength if it be possible. Monsieur *Nypbo* will help to convey it speedily to us.

From the Earl of Clarendon.

S I R,

Worcester-House, Aug. 2. 1666.

I Have many excuses to make you for not acknowledging all your letters punctually when I received them, which I suppose would give you some trouble: and I am sure all I can say to you by way of information or advice, is constantly and abundantly supplied by the diligence of my good friend my Lord *Arlington*.

The last favour I received from you was of the 23d of this month; since which time it hath pleased God to give a wonderful improvement to our affairs: and yet I am persuaded that you there know more of the full extent of the late great victory than we do. In all mens view it is very great and noble, and in one respect very wonderful, that almost the whole fleet that went from

hence, rides now before the enemies harbours, without being compelled to send any considerable number of their ships to be repaired : and I believe this success will change the measures of most of the councils in *Christendom*. I wish with all my heart it may work upon them from whom your Court must receive its orders, to move with a little more vigor in their resolutions : the want of which will at some time or other prove fatal to that monarchy. They have it yet in their power to secure themselves from ever receiving prejudice from the *French* ; which I take to be the only blessing they are to pray for in this world : but it will not be always in their power to do so.

I presume my good friend *Ogniate* is before this time arrived there with good satisfaction : and I will not deny to you I always wished well to those transactions, the concessions being (in truth) no other than what in justice ought to be granted ; except we would declare to the world, that whilst we have a war with *Holland*, we will have no peace with *Flanders*. I wish with all my heart that it may be punctually and religiously observed on our part, by the exemplary punishment of those persons who in the least degree violate the protection agreed upon. And though there will be, as you say, a great latitude for them to cover the *Dutch* trade ; yet that cannot be long without discovery, and they will thereby render themselves infamous to the world, and will suffer accordingly. I know the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* will be as jealous in that affair as possible : and *Ogniate*, who was the fittest person alive to be sent on that errand, will be vigilant to the utmost ; and I am confident will advertise the Marquis upon the least discovery. I know not whether he be enough known to you ; but trust me, he is very worthy of your friendship, which is due to him from all good *Englishmen*, having expressed the same veneration to the King, and the same civility and kindness to us, who had the honour

honour at the same time to attend his Majesty, when we were in *Flanders*, as he can do now, when we are at *Whiteball*. And as that respect of his was then of great use and benefit to his Majesty; so it was apparently to his own prejudice and disadvantage; so that if we are not all kind to him, we deserve no more such friends. I am,

S I R,

Your affectionate servant,

Clarendon.

From Sir William Coventry.

S I R, Septem. 21. 1667.

Since my last to you, I have acquainted his Majesty and his Royal Highness with your having disposed the blank passes sent to you; and that the people of those countries were still desirous of those passes; tho' there was another provision made for their security, by the agreement with M. *Ogniate*: whereupon his Majesty gave consent to the sending over some more of them. By this conveyance I send you five of them. More shall be sent hereafter, if you continue to desire them: but I thought not fit to swell this packet too much.

The *French* fleet hath been in the Channel, and Prince *Rupert's* fleet having been driven from their anchors with a storm, and by other such accidents, he did not meet with them at their first coming; and now we are uncertain whether they are not gone back again. To morrow will tell us more of that than I can now affirm. The storm which drove Prince *Rupert's* fleet from their anchors, dispersed some of the *French* fleet, and seven of them on the right fell into our white squadron: one of them (a ship called *The Ruby*) of fifty-four guns,

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guns, and five hundred men, we took; and some of our frigats pursued the rest, with what success I know not as yet. I am apt to believe the body of their fleet is gone back again towards *Brest* or *Rochel*. We hear *De Ruyter* is dead, and another Admiral chosen.

This day the Parliament voted that they will supply his Majesty proportionably to his occasions, or words to that effect; so our neighbours will see our hearts do not fail us in all our misfortunes. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

William Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

S I R,

Kilkenny, Octob. 14. 1666.

I Have more of yours to acknowledge than I have by me to take particular notice of. They were very pertinent informations as things then went: and some of them got hither with so much speed, that they out-ran any intelligence I could get out of *England*. To morrow I shall be in your livery, and perhaps try whether your *Brussels* camlet will resist *Irish* rain, as I have known it do that of *Flanders*. I must thank you for the present, as coming very seasonably, both in respect of the time of the year, and that for ought I can yet find, my *Michaelmas* rent would hardly have purchased two cloaks: and that your stuff will make me, if I shall be honestly dealt with.

I know both from hence and out of *England*, you are informed of all that passes here. The Commissioners and their dependents, I mean lawyers, and the train belonging to that Court, have all the business, and will have all the money; and consequently if they please, much of the land contended for, and to be distributed.

In

In *England* they are revenging upon us here the falling of their rents, but, I doubt, not repairing themselves; they have us, and perhaps the King, at an advantage: the King must be supplied, and *England* only can do it. I wish we could hear of some overtures towards peace; then would the King be freed from a necessity of consenting to unreasonable things; or we would be the better able to bear the interdicture of our trade with *England*: for to that upon the matter, the forbidding us to send our cattle to their markets, will amount. I am very really,

S I R,

Your most affectionate servant,

Ormonde,

From Sir William Coventry.

S I R,

Whitehall, November 2. 1666.

I Have received the favour you did me of the 5th, N. S. and received with it the bill of exchange for fifty pounds, which, I doubt not, will suddenly be paid. I owe so many of those advantages to your care and kindness, that they become ordinary, and do not leave me any new expressions for my thanks.

We have great expectations what the *Swedes* army at *Bremen*, and the new confederation against them, will produce. We hear the Duke of *Savoy* and the State of *Geneva* are falling out, which probably will not want partners in its success: so that the influence of 66, will extend itself farther than the puritans allowance for the revelations to be fulfilled in, which they confine to *England*.

We are debating still in Parliament which way to raise money, but we draw nearer a conclusion; and I believe

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believe the next week will bring it to good maturity.
I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

W. Coventry.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

S I R,

Dublin, Decemb. 18. 1666.

Yours of the 9-19 past found me on my way hither, where I propose to spend the rest of the winter. How the summer will be spent, seems very doubtful; our preparations for the war would make one think we are sure of a peace; which may be well said without any reflexion on the King and his Ministers.

I am once to thank you for your great civility to my nephew *Clancarty*, in whose consideration you have undertaken to endeavour a pass for Colonel *Murphy*, and for the disposition of the money the Colonel was ordered (if he thought fit) to put into your hand. I have by this post written to Sir *John Shaw* to draw it into *England* when he shall find it best; and I am prepared to pay the Colonel here.

I believe you heard as soon of the suppression, as of the raising of the *Scottish* commotion; perhaps equal credit would not be given in *Holland* to both. It made me hasten hither, and prepare myself to have kept *Christmas* in the North, if the rebellion had lasted. What discovery will be made, and justice done upon the offenders, you will receive sooner knowledge of out of *England* than from hence. I am very confident they had well-wishers here; which is a good, or rather a bad step to correspondency, as that is to conjunction. Those that think well of *Presbyterians*, distinguish those fellows

fellows, and call them *Remonstrators*. I think the true difference is, these *thought* they had power to change the government, and the other do *wish* they had.

When you are at leisure, I wish to know what kind of fort is raised at *Charles-Roy*, and what number of men, horse and foot, it will contain. I am with all reality,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Ormonde.

From the Duke of Ormonde.

S I R,

Dublin, Jan. 29. 1667.

THe success of your negotiations gives no man greater satisfaction for the part you had in it, than to me. The happy consequences which may reasonably be expected from the conclusion of that treaty, may extend farther and last longer, than I have had time since I received yours of the 24th instant, to consider. I confess, my first reflexions were upon the good effect it will have at home, and the good humour it is likely to put the Parliament in at their first meeting; which I look upon as the foundation of all other advantages to be derived from it by reputation, and all the good effects of that amongst our neighbours. I should be glad to hear where or when you are like to fix, that my letters may be conveyed to you when I think they may be worth your receiving from,

S I R,

Your most affectionate humble servant,

Ormonde.

From

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

S I R,

Breda, Aug. 4. N. S. 1667.

Yours of the 29th *July* I have received, and thank you for it. I doubt not but by this time you have heard of the several treaties of peace signed here the 21-31 of *July*. We were so very busy in dispatching away Sir *John Coventry* for *England* with the treaties, that I had not leisure till now to give you an account of it. That betwixt the *States* and us consisteth in an absolute abolition of all pretences on either side, each to remain Masters of what they were in possession of the 10-20 of *May* 1667; what since taken, to be restored, as to lands and fortresses: ships are yet liable till after publication; when all hostilities are to cease within twelve days in the Channel, and so proportionably in other seas; then the whole treaty of 1662 renewed, and we both to make use of the articles betwixt *France* and this *State* for contraband goods, till such time as we can agree of one betwixt ourselves. The rest is a restoring of the treaty in 1662, as to all its articles except the eleventh, wherein our pretensions are contained. As to the act of navigation, you will hear much noise, that *that* is repealed. There is no such thing; neither doth the article about that matter give the *States* any more advantage, than as I conceive the act gave them before. As to the *French*, we restore all to each other that each hath taken, and all things done put in oblivion. As to *Denmark*, — the debt he owed the *Hamburg* company, *France* standing very firm to him upon the point; and their greatest argument was, that it was not a debt contracted by him or his father; but on the contrary, imposed on his father for having assisted the late King; and besides they gave us our choice either to agree thus, or to account for what had been taken on each side, and

render:

render: the latter was thought the more prejudicial to the King our Master; and so this hath passed. And there is, I think, the substance of the three treaties.

How or where this letter will find you, we know not: for we here believe *Brussels* besieged, and that according to the fashion of this year's campaign, is little less than taken.

All public Ministers have, or will have left this town within a day or two, except ourselves. To morrow fortnight they all meet here again, expecting the ratification.

I am, Sir, with very great sincerity,

Your most faithful humble servant,

Henry Coventry.

From my Lord Hollis.

S I R,

Breda, July 4. N. S. 1667.

I Have received yours by my Lord *Stafford's* servant, and see you have put off your journey hither in expectation we might be removed hence; and for which it seems the Marquis *de Castel-Rodrigo* is pleased to express himself with so much civility and kindness towards us; for which both my Lord Ambassador *Coventry* and myself do return our most humble thanks. But it will not be possible that we can remove so soon; so as assuredly you will have time enough to do us that favour, and very gladly we shall receive it from you; when we may at leisure discourse of the present posture of our affairs, and make those sad reflexions which they deserve; and which will be much fitter for a conference, than to be set down in paper. I shall

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reserve them till then, and in the mean time, and ever remain,

S I R,

*Your very affectionate, and
most humble servant,*

Hollis.

From my Lord Ambassador Coventry.

S I R,

Breda, Aug. 12-22. 1667.

I Am very thankful to you for the buck you sent us; and it came very well, and so seasonably, that I made use of some of it the very morning it came. We have no news to send you from hence, but that we are now altogether employed in jollity, and expect our ships to give us some sea physic, to purge the excesses we make. Your health is not only what we drink, but what we pray for. The first part hath already been useful to digest our venison, and the other we reserve for more important considerations. In conclusion, we hear more of drums and trumpets since the peace, than we did in the war; though I hope this will not be so fatal a noise as they make at *Lisse*. I am sorry both for the want of your company, and the reason of it. Now our own peace is done, I could wish with all my heart *Christendom's* were so too.

Sir, I pray believe me to be, what I very sincerely am,

Your most faithful humble servant,

Henry Coventry.

From my * Lord Lisle

S I R,

September 26. 1667.

Since I had your last letter, I have made you no acknowledgment of it: a retirement is in several respects like the night of one's life, in the obscurity and darkness, and in the sleepiness and drowsiness: which I mention to put you in mind that I am only by my posture of life apt to be failing towards you.

What is of Court or assemblies near us, is at my Lord Crofts's. Sir Thomas Ingram this summer hath made no noise at all. Old Lady Devonshire keeps up her feasts still; and that hath been of late Mr. Waller's chief theatre: the assembly of wits at Mr. Comptroller's will scarce let him in: and poor Sir John Denham is fallen to the ladies also. He is at many of the meetings at dinners, talks more than ever he did, and is extremely pleased with those that seem willing to hear him; and from that obligation exceedingly praises the Dutchess of Monmouth and my Lady Cavendish; if he had not the name of being mad, I believe in most companies he would be thought wittier than ever he was. He seems to have few extravagancies, besides that of telling stories of himself, which he is always inclined to. Some of his acquaintance say, that extreme vanity was a cause of his madness, as well as it is an effect.

All persons of note hereabouts are going to their winter-quarters at London. The burning of the city begins to be talked of as a story like that of the burning of Troy. At Sheen we are like to be bare: Lady Luddal seems uncertain in her stay; and we hear that when Sir James Sheen and his Lady were ready to come from Ireland, great cramps took my Lady in her

* Late Earl of Leicester.

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her limbs: and Sir *James's* servants doubt whether we shall see him this winter.

I desire, Sir, your leave to kiss my Lady *Temple's* hands, and my Lady *Giffard's* hands, by your letter. My daughter and I were in dispute which of us two should write this time to *Brussels*; and, because I was judged to have more leisure, it fell to me, and my Lady *Temple* is to have the next from her.

I wish, you, Sir, all good successes in your business, and am

Your very affectionate servant,

Lisle.

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R,

Madrid, Septemb. 27. 1667.

THIS begs your pardon for my not writing by the last post, and presents you my humble thanks for that letter I should then have acknowledged, and another of *September 7. N. S.* which, with many advices very considerable and desirable to be known, gives me one particular satisfaction, to hear that one copy of the treaty is in so certain a way of getting home. There are two more gone by sea, one from *Calais*, *August 2. N. S.* the other express by a vessel from *Rigo* in *Gallicia*, *August 31. N. S.* designed to set a gentleman of my company ashore in *Ireland* on the south part; which course I directed as a certain way to avoid the danger of the sea, and no very tedious way of passage; I suppose all these likely to arrive in *England* much about a time.

This place affords not much considerable news to return you. Our *Portugal* adjustment keeps the pace of the accustomed *Spanish* gravity (if it proceed forward at all.) They have here removed the President of the *Hazienda*, (or, as they call it, *Jubilared* him) giving

ving him his salary still of 6000 Ducats *per annum*, for his own life, his wife's and his eldest son's; and also have given him some other considerable *Mercedes*; and have made *Don Lopez de los Rois*, President de *Hazienda* in his room. This last is *Castillo's* near kinsman and creature, the other a near kinsman of the Duke of *Medina's de las Torres*.

The *Conde de Fuensalida* is lately dead, (a *Grandee* of *Spain*.) My chief business here is a longing expectation to hear of the treaty I have made here to be received in *England*, which now I daily shall hope for; and as any thing thence, or here, occurs worth your notice, it shall be presented you by,

S I R,

Your most affectionate, and
most humble servant.

Sandwich,

From the Earl of Sandwich.

S I R, Madrid, Decemb. 14-24. 1667,

I Hope from your goodness to find pardon for missing the other posts, but dare not adventure your patience to fail this also, though I am now hurried by business, so that I have not time so largely and considerably to write as I desire. Be pleased then to know that Mr. *Godolphin's* journey to *Portugal* suffered so much delay, until it was found necessary that I must go in person thither; and then he resolved to make use of the King my Master's leave to return into *England*, and began his journey for *Bilboa* on Tuesday morning last. You know the value of Mr. *Godolphin* so well, that it is needless to tell you my griefs in part-
ing

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ing from one of the most accomplished, worthy, and generous friends that ever I met with: and am heartily glad that your friendship and mine do also *convenire in aliquo tertio*.

My journey for *Portugal* hath almost met with as many or more calms than Mr. *Godolphin's*: and in good earnest, I am not able to give you any light, whether it be likely to proceed or not.

The *Spaniards* have reformed two regiments of *Germans* at *Badajos*; very good officers they say, and are resolved never to serve the *Spaniard* more. The King of *Spain* has had the small-pox; but is so recovered, as they fear no danger.

In *Portugal*, *Don Pedro* is made Governor to assist his brother in the same nature as his mother did when she was Regent: and the addressees are made in the same manner.

The Queen is returned to a convent, asserting herself to be a maid: and the King has under his hand and oath delivered the same. So the Queen pursues the cause among the church-men to have the marriage declared null. There are *Cortes* to be called there *January 1. N. S.* On the 7th instant, N. S. the Marquis of *Sande* (the Ambassador that brought the Queen) was shot and killed in the street with a carabine, and no body knows who did it.

I wish you a very merry *Christmas*, and am most affectionately,

S I R,

Your most faithful, and

most humble servant,

Sandwich.

P. S.

P. S. If I go to *Portugal*, pray continue our correspondence to Mr. *John Werden*, a Gentleman worthy of your favour, and very able and securely my friend, who does me the favour to continue in my house, and manages the King's business in this Court in my absence, and will send me your letters.

From Monsieur Gourville.

De Monsieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Jan.

S I R, 28. 1668.

BY a copy of the letter written from the King of *England* to the *States*, I understand you are a peaceable man: and the memorial you have given to desire commissioners in order to examine jointly with you into the means for a good peace, makes us believe that you desire in good earnest to give repose to *Christendom*. You know I have always desired it; but however it will be the more agreeable to see it done by your hands. In good earnest, I am glad the King of *England* has made choice of you for so great and important an affair: when his Majesty knows your merits, I assure myself you will be always in the greatest employments; and I assure you, that I shall always be making wishes for your advancement, till I see you made Chancellor of *England*.

A Lunebourg, 28.

Monsieur, Jan. 1668.

Par la copie de la lettre que sa Majesté Britannique a écrit aux *Etats des provinces unies*, j'apprens que vous estes un homme pacifique; la memoire que vous avez présentée pour demander des commissaires pour chercher ensemble les moyens de parvenir à une bonne paix, doit faire croire que c'est tout de bon que vous voulez donner le repos à la *Chrétienté*. Vous sçavez comme je l'ay toujours souhaité, mais elle me sera autant plus agreable, de la voir faite de votre main: tout de bon je me rejouis que sa Majesté Britannique vous ait choisi pour une si grande & si importante affaire. Quand elle connoitra votre merite, je m'assure que vous aurez toujours les plus grands emplois; & je vous assure de la meilleure foy du monde, que jusque' à ce que je vous voye *Chancelier d'Angleterre*, je feray toujours des vœux pour votre

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England. In the mean time
I shall be ever,

S I R,

Your most humble, and

obedient servant,

Gourville.

P. S. If you have a desire to make the peace, I look upon it as very far advanced; the Princes here shew their desire of it. I did not think to stay in this country above 8 or 10 days; yet here I am after four months. Pray let me know whether you think the assembly will be at Aix, and near what time, that I may keep my lodgings there; and if you will tell me in confidence the opinion you have of the peace, I shall be obliged to you: mine is, that you may make it if you please; but I am not yet convinced whether you can hinder it, if Monsieur de Witt has so much desire to make it, as many people believe, according to what I am told.

From Monsieur Gourville.

Luneburg, Feb.

S I R,

22. 1668.

ALL your modest reasoning will not hinder me from believing that any other Minister the King of England could have sent to the Hague, would

vôtre avancement. Et en attendant, je seray toujours plus veritablement que personne du monde,

Vôtre tres humble, &

tres obeissant serviteur,

Gourville.

P. S. Si vous avez bien envie de faire la paix, je la tiens fort avancée; les Princes icy temoignent la desirer: je ne croyois demeurer en ce pais icy que huit ou dix jours, & m'y voila au bout de quatre mois. Je vous prie de me mander si vous croyez que l'on s'assemblera à Aix, & à peu prez le temps afin que j'y fasse retenir ma chambre: et si vous voulez confidemment me mander l'opinion que vous avez de la paix, je vous en seray obligé. La mienne est que si vous la voulez que vous la ferez: mais je ne suis pas si convaincu que vous la puissiez empêcher, si Monsieur de Witt a autant d'envie de la faire comme bien des gens le croient, selon ce que l'on m'en mande.

De Monsieur Gourville.

A Lunebourg, 22.

Monsieur, Fevr. 1668.

Toute la modestie de votre raisonnement ne m'empêchera pas de croire, que tout autre Ministre que sa Majesté Britannique eut envoyé à la Haye, n'auroit

would not have finished in many months what you have done in four days. Without flattery, 'tis a thing you ought to be extremely satisfied with. I suspected at first, that you had made this treaty by some concert with the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo: for tho' the King my master has so much reason to be content to see him grant what his Majesty demanded, nevertheless the bad counsel of the Spaniards has put them in a condition to receive your work as the safety of what remained to them of Flanders. I never lamented my absence from the Hague but since I knew you were there. I cannot yet tell what time I shall be obliged to stay here. Monsieur de Lionne having encharged me from the King with some orders in this court, which I have reason to believe will accommodate my affairs I am strongly persuaded the King my master will hold to the alternative, Monsieur de Lionne having sent me word that his Majesty was content with what you had done at the Hague; and that if the manner of it had been a little more obliging, there were nothing more to be desired. These Princes mightily desire the peace upon your conditions; the league of the Rhine is extremely satisfied with it; so that in all appearance, Spain may do what they

VOL. III. please;

n'auroit pas fait en bien des mois ce que vous avez achevé en quatre jours. Sans flatterie c'est une chose qui vous doit extrêmement satisfaire. J'ai d'abord soupçonné que vous aviez fait ce traité de quelque concert avec Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo: car encore que le Roy mon Maître ait tant sujet d'estre content de le voir accorder ce qu'il a demandé; néanmoins le méchant conseil des Espagnols les a mis en état de recevoir vôtre ouvrage comme le salut de ce qui leur restera aux Pays-bas. Je n'avois point regretté mon absence de la Haye que depuis que je sçay que vous y êtes: je ne sçaurois encore savoir le temps que je seray obligé de demeurer icy; Monsieur de Lionne m'ayant chargé de la part du Roy de quelques ordres en cette cour, tant que j'ay lieu de croire que cela accommodera mes affaires. C'est pourtant un chemin qui me peut conduire à cette fin: je suis très fortement persuadé que le Roy mon Maître se tiendra à l'alternative. Monsieur de Lionne m'a mandé que sa Majesté estoit contente de ce que vous aviez fait à la Haye: Et que si la façon en eut esté un peu plus obligeante, il n'y auroit eu rien à desirer. Ces Princes icy souhaitent fort la paix aux conditions que vous la voulez faire: la ligue du Rhin en est très satisfaite, ainsi selon les apparences les Espagnols auront beau faire, on sauvera leur pais en

N n dépit

please for this time their country shall be saved, no thanks to them. I would fain know whether you think of going to *Aix*. I have a great mind to see this negotiation: and I should have nothing to desire, if I were sure to find you there. I see by this business here, that the peace will be made; or else, that there will be a great war; but I rather think the former. And if they will let me come no more to *France*, 'tis there (at *Aix*) I design to reside for the rest of my life. I doubt not but they will let me take one turn to *Paris* to see if I can make my peace; but I fear they will raise insupportable difficulties.

I desire you to believe me always,

S I R,

Your most humble and
most obedient Servant.

Gourville.

It may be I shall see you at the *Hague* sooner than you think.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague Feb.

25. 1668.

S I R,

THE beares hereof delivered me the letter you did me the honour to write to me from

dépit d'eux pour cette fois icy. Je voudrois bien savoir si vous croyez aller à *Aix*; j'ay fort envie de voir cette negotiation, & je n'aurois rien à desirer si je sçavois vous y trouver. Je voy par cette affaire icy, que la paix ce fera, ou que se fera une grande guerre; mais tout me fait croire le premier; & si on ne veut point de moy en *France*, je m'en voy prendre mon party pour le reste de mes jours. Je ne doute point que l'on ne me laisse faire un tour à *Paris* pour voir si je pourrois m'accommoder; mais je crains que l'on ne me fasse des difficultés insupportables.

Je vous supplie de me croire toujours,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble, &

tres obeissant Serviteur,

Gourville.

Je pourray peut être vous voir à la *Haye* plutôt que vous ne pensez.

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25

Febr. 1668.

Monsieur,

LE porteur de celle-cy m'a bien delivré la lettre qu'il vous a plu me faire l'honneur de m'ecrire

from *Antwerp* of the 24th instant; wherein I behold with pleasure your zeal and diligence for the advancement of our common affair; as also the good dispositions that your offices have already raised in the mind of the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, and the appearance of a more satisfactory declaration we shall receive upon the common request to be made him from the King of *Great Britain* and this *State*. I delayed not to communicate and deliberate the contents of the said letter, with the *States* Commissioners deputed upon the subject of our last negotiations; and we hope you will judge as we do, that it is absolutely necessary for his Excellence to declare himself without farther delay or reserve, agreeably to what is concluded between *England* and this *State*, without desiring beforehand any concert more particular than that which is made, signed and ratified, between us and our Masters: for since the King of *France* has seen by his last conquests how weak and negligent the *Spaniards* are, 'tis to be feared, that if the Marquis lets the month of *March* expire, without plainly declaring himself as we desire, the King of *France* may be very glad, after the expiration of the said term, not to be obliged by virtue of his word given, to make the peace upon the

crire d'Anvers le 24me de ce mois; & j'y ay veu avec agrément le zele & la diligence que vous avez apporté pour l'avancement de notre affaire commune; comme aussi les bonnes dispositions que vos offices ont déjà fait naître dans l'esprit de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & l'apparence d'une declaration plus satisfaisante que nous recevrons sur la priere commune qu'on luy va faire de la part du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat. Je n'ay pas tardé de communiquer & deliberer le contenu de la dite lettre avec les Commissaires des Etats, deputez sur le sujet de nos dernieres negotiations; & nous esperons que vous jugerez avec nous qu'il est absolument necessaire que son Excellence se declare sans plus de delay & sans aucune reserve conformement à la disposition de ce qui est conclu entre l'Angleterre & cet Etat, sans desirer au preambule aucun concert plus particulier que celui qui est fait, signé & ratifié entre nous & par nos Maîtres. Car puisque le Roy de France a veu par les derniers progres, comme les Espagnols sont foibles & negligents; il est à apprehender que si Monsieur le Marquis laisse ecouler le mois de Mars sans s'estre déclaré nettement comme nous le desirons, le Roy de France ne soit tres aise de n'estre pas obligé apres l'expiration en vertu de sa parola donnée, de faire la paix sur l'alternative; & qu'il ne se serve

the *alternative*, but may make use of the time and disorder of the *Spaniards*, to surprize *Luxemburg*, and a great part of what remains to the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*; and to order his affairs afterwards as occurrences shall happen. The *States General* are obliged and entirely resolved, in case of refusal from the King of *France*, or any evasions from that side, after it has been insinuated to him that the *Marquis* has accepted either part of the *alternative*; to execute, in the most vigorous manner possible, what is contained in our third separate article; and by consequence, jointly with *England*, to break into open war against *France*, to act in concert, not only for defence of the *Netherlands*, but also, and above all, to attack and infest *France* by sea, by descents, invasions into the country, and all other ways. But because it may be presupposed in public, that the King of *France* after having given his word to the *States*, and afterwards by a circular letter, not only to the King of *Great Britain* and the said *States*, but also to many Princes of *Germany*, will not break a promise so solemnly made; we cannot by any means enter into concert and league with *Spain*, before this case effectually arrives; and we think that such a league and concert

made

serve encore du temps & du desordre des *Espagnols* pour surprendre en même façon le *Luxembourg*, & une grande partie de ce qui reste au *Roy d'Espagne* dans le *Pais-bas*; & pour se régler par après selon les occurrences. Les *Etats Generaux* se trouvent obligez & entièrement résolu, au cas de refus du *Roy de France*, ou des échappatoires recherchés de son côté, après qu'on luy aura insinué que *Monsieur le Marquis* ait accepté l'une ou l'autre partie de l'*alternative*, d'exécuter en la manière la plus vigoureuse que faire se pourra, le contenu au troisieme de nos articles separéz; par consequent de rompre conjointement avec l'*Angleterre* en guerre ouverte contre la *France*, d'agir de concert non seulement pour la defense du *Pais-bas*; mais aussi & sur tout d'attaquer & incommoder la *France* de leurs forces maritimes; & même par des descents, ou invasions dans le *Pais*, & en toute autre manière: mais d'autant qu'il faut presupposer publiquement, que le *Roy de France*, après avoir donné sa parole par une lettre circulaire, non seulement au *Roy de la Grande Bretagne* & aux dits *Etats*, mais aussi à plusieurs Princes d'*Allemagne*, ne voudra pas manquer à une promesse si solennellement donnée; nous ne pourrions en aucune façon entrer en concert & ligue avec l'*Espagne*, avant que ce cas soit effectivement arrivé: &

nous

made before the season would be likely indeed to produce the effect the Marquis desires; but which is far from his Majesty of England's Aim, or that of the States; for you cannot but know, that his Excellence would prefer the continuance of the war with our assistance, to the conclusion of the peace upon the *alternative*; and his Majesty, as well as the States, prefers this peace before the continuance of a war, whereof they must bear all the costs, and all the profit be to the King of Spain. Now we comprehend very well, that such a concert and such a league as his Excellence desires, would put the King of France upon an absolute necessity of continuing the war; because if he should comply after such a league made with his enemies, it would appear publicly, that he was obliged to it by this bond, and consequently by his enemies themselves. And therefore the matter is judiciously enough proposed by his Excellence for arriving at his end; but since it would make us miss of ours, we hope you will put the Marquis off it, and make him quit all hopes of engaging us by the force of his great genius, to enter of our own accord, where we have no mind to come but upon a fatal necessity. I think his Excellence does wrong to the King of Great Britain and
the

nous jugeons qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue faite devant la saison, seroit fort capable de produire l'effet que Monsieur le Marquis souhaite, mais qui est tout à fait éloigné du but de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, & de leurs Hautes Puissances; car il ne peut vous estre inconnu que son Excellence prefereroit la continuation de la guerre avec nos secours, à la conclusion de la paix sur l'*alternative*. Et sa Majesté aussi bien que leurs Hautes Puissances preferent cette paix à la continuation d'une guerre dont ils seroient obligés de porter toutes les dépenses, & dont tout le profit seroit pour le Roy d'Espagne. Or, nous comprenons fort bien qu'un tel concert & une telle ligue que son Excellence desire, mettroit le Roy de France dans une nécessité absolue de continuer la guerre; d'autant que se rendant après une telle ligue faite avec ses ennemis, il paroîtroit publiquement qu'il y fût obligé par cette liaison, & par conséquent par ses ennemis mêmes; & partant l'affaire est judicieusement proposée par son Excellence pour parvenir à son but; mais puisque elle nous feroit perdre le nôtre, nous esperons que vous en detournerez Monsieur le Marquis, & que vous luy ferez perdre toute esperance de ne pouvoir pas par son grande genie même nous engager comme par gayeté de coeur, ou nous ne voulons venir qu'au cas d'une fatale nécessité. Il me semble que son Excellence
feroit

the States, in not trusting their affection and their honour, which are concerned, as well as their interest, after the alliance and the peace they have already made together: but if after his Excellence has accepted our propositions, the King of France shall happen to draw back or seek evasions, then the King of Great Britain and the States General entering into the party, and even into a rupture with France, it will be very just and proper to concert with his Excellence after what manner to act in the territory of the King his Master; and yet in the mean while not omit entering into action without the least loss of time. Therefore it will be no way necessary for me to be upon our frontiers towards the end proposed by his Excellence, which besides will be wholly impossible for me; much less to send any body from hence to Brussels, since the States Deputies, who are there at present, are the same we should chuse for the end desired: for I assure you I can name no body in whom the States as well as I in particular can have greater confidence, whereof I do not doubt but they will give you proofs, as well as of their sincerity and good conduct. I desire you therefore, Sir, to use them with as much freedom as me, and I will engage they shall do the same by you,

seroit tort au Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & aux Etats Generaux, de ne se fier pas à leur affection & à leur honneur, dont il y va si bien que de leur intérêt, après la liaison & le pas qu'ils ont fait déjà ensemble. Mais si après qu'elle aura accepté nos propositions, le Roy de France vient à reculer, ou à chercher des echappatoires; alors le Roy de la Grande Bretagne, & les Etats Generaux, entrans dans le party, & même en rupture avec la France, il sera tres à propos que l'on concerte avec son Excellence la maniere dont on agira dans le territoire du Roy son Maître; & que pourtant l'on ne laisse pas cependant d'entrer en action sans la moindre perte de temps. Il ne sera donc nullement necessaire que je me trouve sur nos frontiers pour la fin proposée par son Excellence, ce que d'ailleurs me seroit tout à fait impossible; & encore bien moins l'on en vöye quelqu'un d'icy à Brusselles, d'autant que les Deputez des Etats qui s'y trouvent presentement, sont ceux-la même que l'on pourroit choisir pour la fin désirée; vous pouvant assurer que je ne pouvois nommer personne, en qui l'Etat aussi bien que moy en particulier, puissent avoir plus de confiance, dont ils vous donneront sans doute des preuves aussi bien que de leur integrité & de leur bonne conduite. Je vous supplie donc, Monsieur, d'user avec eux de la même franchise, dont vous avez usé envers moy, & je vous demeure

you. And if you have been at all satisfied with my manner of transacting, as I have been extremely with yours, that you will be also satisfied with that of the said Deputies. For the rest we approve extremely the diligence you make on all sides in sending to the Ministers of the King of England, and the States now at Paris: and from your common offices we promise to ourselves an universal peace in Christendom, to the great advantage of the public, and the eternal glory of yourselves, which no man desires more than he who is,

S I R,

Your most humble, and

most affectionate Servant,

Jo. de Witt.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March
5. 1668.

S I R,

TIS with great satisfaction that I have learned from your dispatch of the 2d instant, and by that of the Deputies of this State, the provisional success it has pleased God to grant to your cares and application to the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo; and I doubt

demeure garand qu'eux de leur côté en useront de même: Et si vous avez esté en quelque façon satisfait de ma maniere d'agir, comme je l'ay esté de la vôtre, que vous le ferez tout à fait de celle desdits Deputés de l'Etat. Au reste, nous approuvons fort les diligences que vous ferez de part Et d'autre directement aux Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne Et de cet Etat à Paris; Et nous nous promettons de vos offices communs la paix universelle de la Chrétienté, au grand profit du public, Et à la gloire éternelle de vos personnes: laquelle vous souhaite avec autant d'affection que personne du monde, celuy qui est, Et qui demeurera à jamais,

Monsieur,

Vôtre tres humble, &

tres affectionné Serviteur,

Joan. de Witt.

De Monsieur De Witt.

A la Haye, 5
Mars, 1668.

Monsieur,

C'A esté avec beaucoup de satisfaction que j'ay appris par votre dépêche du 2d de ce mois, Et par celle de Messieurs les Deputés de l'Etat, le succez provisionnel qu'il a plu au bon Dieu d'octroyer à vos soins Et à votre direction auprez du Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo; Et je ne doute point

doubt not but the conduct you have used to dispose those of the Council of State of this country to conform to his Excellence's opinion, will be applauded by them. I hope, before the receipt of this, you will have received from his Excellence a declaration in form, and in writing, couched in clear and satisfactory terms, without any ambiguity or obscurity; and, in short, such as will leave no occasion or pretext to *France* to find any thing to object against, but what shall put them to a necessity of declaring themselves plainly on their side, upon the conditions and articles of our convention, and shall put us out of doubt and trouble of what we have to do. For myself, I shall endeavour all I can, that this *State* shall be put in a posture of entering vigorously and effectually upon the defence of *Flanders*, in case, after a plain and satisfactory answer from his Excellence, the the King of *France* shall leave us any apprehensions of his endeavouring to make farther progresses in this country, which we cannot suppose without the prejudice of suspecting that the said King will falsify his word given, and the promise so solemnly made by his public and circular letters; which God forbid, and which however common prudence should make us suppose to be possible

point que la conduite que vous avez tenue pour disposer ceux du conseil d'Etat de ce pais à se conformer au sentiment de son Excellence ne produise leur applaudissement. J'espere que devant que celle-cy vous sera rendue; vous aurez reçu de son Excellence une declaration, dans les formes & par écrit, couchée en termes clairs & satisfaisants, sans aucune ambiguïté ou obscurité; & enfin telle que ne laisse aucune occasion ni même aucun pretexte à la France d'y trouver quelque chose à redire; mais qui la mette en nécessité de se déclarer aussi de son côté nettement sur les conditions & articles de notre convention, & nous hors de doute & d'embarras de ce que nous avons à faire. Quant à moy, je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main à ce que l'Etat se mette tout à fait en posture de pouvoir accourir vigoureusement & efficacement à la défense du Pais-bas en cas qu'après une declaration nette & satisfaisante de son Excellence, le Roy de France nous laisse encore de l'apprehension des plus grands progrès que sa Majesté voudroit tâcher de faire dans le même pais, ce que nous ne pouvons pas presupposer sans estre preoccupe d'un soupçon que le dit Roy voudroit bien fausser sa parole donnée, & sa promesse si solennellement faite par des lettres publiques & circulaires: ce qu'à Dieu ne plaise; & ce que pourtant la prudence veut que nous nous figurions comme

possible, that we might not neglect the means, whereof we have so often discoursed, and upon which the States have given order to their Ambassadors in *England*, to concert more particularly with the King of *Great Britain* and his Ministers.

You have farther obliged me by not giving a copy of my foregoing dispatch to the Marquis, since in my opinion he might have made use of it to provoke and anger the King of *France*, and oblige him as it were, in point of honour, to be obstinate in the war against the desire and intention of the King of *England* and the States; but by giving his Excellence so much part therein, as to read to him our separate articles; that is, what I cannot but entirely approve, as being wholly agreeable to my manner of proceeding, as well as your precaution, wherewith you kept the common cause from the danger above-mentioned, in not giving him a copy. For the rest, I refer myself to what the deputies of the States shall have already told you upon the contents of your former dispatch, and to what they shall communicate to you

me possible, pour ne negliger pas les moyens dont nous nous sommes bien souvent entretenus, & sur lesquels les Etats ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en *Angleterre* de concerter plus particulièrement avec le Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* & ses Ministres.

Vous m'avez encore obligé de n'avoir point donné copie de ma precedente dépêche au Marquis; puisque à mon jugement, on auroit pu s'en servir pour aigrir & picquer le Roy de *France*, & pour l'obliger en quelque façon par point d'honneur, à s'opiniâtrer dans la guerre contre le but & souhait du Roy de la *Grande Bretagne*, & des Etats *Généraux*. Mais que vous ayez donné part à son Excellence par lecture de nos articles séparés, c'est ce que je ne puis qu'approuver entièrement, comme étant fort conforme à ma manière d'agir & de procéder; aussi bien que la precaution dont vous avez garanti la cause commune du susdit danger, en ne luy en ayant point donné copie. Au reste je me remets à ce que Messieurs les Deputés de l'Etat vous auront déjà dit & temoigné sur le contenu de votre dépêche precedente, & à ce qu'ils vous communiqueront de temps en temps de l'intention de leurs Hautes Puissan-

290 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

from time to time, of the intentions of *their High and Mightinesses*, and shall ever remain what I am with passion,

S I R,

Your most affectionate

and humble servant,

Jo. de Witt.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague March

S I R,

16. 1668.

YOUR dispatch of the 11th instant did not come to my hands till the 14th at noon, the courier who brought it having not been dismissed from *Brussels* till the 13th.

I was very glad to see you had at last disposed the Marquis to dispatch the Baron of *Bergeyck* for *Aix la Chapelle*, being very much persuaded that it imports us mightily to have a quick conclusion of the peace, or else to see clearly into the most inward dispositions of the King of *France*, as well as those of the *Spanish Court*; and that all delay is very prejudicial to our intentions, and to the interests of *Spain*. And that we may be neither surprised nor abused on either side, I think in the present conjuncture, two things are absolutely necessary: the first

ces: & demeureray à jamais celui qui suis avec passion,

Monsieur,

Votre tres affectionné &

tres humble serviteur,

Joan. de Witt.

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16

Monsieur, *Mars, 1668.*

VOTRE dépêche du 11me de ce mois ne m'a esté rendue que le 14me apres midy; le courier qui l'a apportée, n'ayant esté expédié & parti de *Brussels* que le 13me.

J'y esté fort aise de voir que vous aviez enfin disposé Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, à dépêcher le Baron de *Bergeyck* promptement vers *Aix la Chapelle*; estant tres persuadé qu'il nous importe d'avoir une prompte conclusion de la paix, ou de voir clair dans les intentions les plus intérieures du Roy de *France*, aussi bien que dans celle de la cour d'*Espagne*; & que tout delai est fort prejudiciable à nos intentions & aux interêts de l'*Espagne*: & afin que nous ne puissions pas estre surpris ou abusés de côté ou d'autre; je juge qu'en la conjuncture presente deux choses nous sont absolument necessaires: dont

first is, that *England* and this *State* will be furnished by sea and land; and the other, that we take away, not only all lawful cause, but also, as much as possible, all pretext from *France* to delay or avoid the concluding and signing the treaty of peace.

To satisfy on our side for the first point, we are resolved, as soon as the season will permit, to send into the field all our cavalry, which consists of 7300 horse, and provisionally 25 regiments of our foot, for which the chief rendezvous shall be at *Berg-op-zoom*, or thereabouts; from whence there will be a convenient march in a few days into most part of the King of *Spain's* places in the *Netherlands*.

We have also given order for equipping 48 ships of war, above the number commonly used for guard and convoy; and the *States* have already given order to their Ambassadors in *England*, to concert with the King of *Great Britain* and his Ministers, upon the number of ships and men that each party shall be obliged to have ready, and in what time. Besides, the Deputies of the *States* have this day finally agreed with the Ministers of the Dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunebourg*, to bring into the service of this *State* three regiments

dont la premiere est que l'*Angleterre* & cet *Etat* soient bien armés par mer & par terre; & l'autre qu'on ôte non seulement toute cause legitime, mais aussi tant que faire se pourra, tout pretexte à la *France* de delaier ou d'esquiver la conclusion & la signature du traité de paix.

Pour satisfaire de notre côté au premier point, nous sommes résolus de mettre en campagne, aussitôt que la saison le pourra permettre, toute notre cavallerie, qui consiste en sept mille & trois cents chevaux, & provisionnellement vingt cinq regimens de notre infanterie, pour lequel le principal rendezvous sera à *Bergop-zoom* & aux environs; place fort commode pour pouvoir de là nous jeter en peu de tems dans la plupart des places du Roy d'*Espagne* au *Pais-bas*.

Aussi avons nous donné ordre pour l'équipage de quarante & huit vaisseaux de guerre par dessus le nombre qui sert pour la garde & l'escorte ordinaire; & il y a déjà quelque tems que les *Etats* ont donné ordre à leurs Ambassadeurs en *Angleterre* de concerter avec le Roy de la *Grande Bretagne* & ses Ministres sur le nombre & la quantité des vaisseaux & hommes, que chacun s'obligerait d'avoir tout prêt & en quel tems. Outre cela les Deputés de l'*Etat* sont tombés aujourd'hui finalement d'accord avec les Ministres des Ducs de *Bronswick* & de *Lunebourg*, pour faire

ments of horse, and 3000 foot; and I hope the treaty will be signed to morrow, or the next day. And farther, they are going here to augment the old militia by new levies, to the number of 12,000 men, with the troops of the said Dukes, which are to enter into the service of the State; and I will not fail of helping what I can to the accomplishing of all this, as soon as it can be done by the constitution of the government. And if you approve all these preparations and diligences, as I hope you will, since they seem very necessary, and no way offensive, since he who really desires the peace, will find in it his support and advantage; and that these forces shall not be employed till the last necessity against him, that by his wilfulness would disappoint *Christendom* of the benefit of it; I desire you by your letters, to make the exhortations necessary to the King of *England* and his Ministers, that they may not fail on that side to make the like preparations and diligences.

As to the second point, I think it imports much that the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo* should explain himself upon which of the two conditions proposed by the *alternative*, he pretends to have accepted; wherein

faire passer au service de cet Etat trois regimens de cavallerie, & trois mille hommes à pied; & j'espere que le traité en pourra estre signé demain, au après demain; & au surplus va-t-on icy encore augmenter la vielle milice par des nouvelles levées jusques au nombre de douze mille hommes, y compris les troupes desdits Ducs qui passeront au service de cet Etat: & je ne manqueray pas de tenir la main, & de presser autant qu'il me sera possible que tout ce que dessus aye son accomplissement le plutôt qu'il se pourra faire selon la constitution de ce gouvernement. Et si vous approuvez toutes ces preparations & diligences, comme je l'espere, & qu'elles me semblent fort necessaires & nullement offensantes; d'autant que celui qui voudra la paix reellement, y trouvera son appuy & son avantage; & que leur emploi sera de la dernière necessité contre celui qui par son opiniâtreté en voudroit frustrer la Chrétienneté: je vous supplie de faire les exhortations necessaires par vos lettres au Roy de la Grande Bretagne & à ses Ministres, afin que de ce côté là on ne manque pas de faire des semblables preparatifs & les même diligences.

Quant au second point, Je croy qu'il importe grandement que Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo* s'explique, laquelle des deux conditions proposées par l'*alternative* il entend avoir accepté: en quoy il me semble

wherein there seems the less difficulty, since his Excellence will, without doubt, explain himself for the abandoning the places the King of France has conquered the last campaign, with their dependencies. But then I think it will be our interest and duty, to endeavour that some reasonable exchange be made, for places far in the heart of *Flanders*, against places lately taken in the *Franche Comté*, or others that shall be more for the advantage of France, and less for the inconvenience of Spain and us.

Besides, to take all pretext from France which they may pretend to make upon a defect of powers in the said Marquis, either in the principal matter, or by default of a clause of substitution, or otherwise; I think it will be very necessary that the King of Great Britain and the States General shall be obliged to ratify and accomplish whatever shall be treated and concluded at Aix; and shall promise in the firmest manner the King of France can desire, to oblige Spain in case of necessity to the said ratification and accomplishment, by all their forces both by sea and land: and in short, that in every occurrence they will do very judiciously to obviate all exceptions and delays which can be brought to the prejudice of the peace. But farther

semble tant moins de difficulté, que c'est sans contredit que son Excellence s'expliquera pour l'abandonnement des places que le Roy de France a conquis la campagne passée, avec leurs dépendances: mais ce sera ce me semble alors de notre intérêt & de notre devoir de travailler puissamment afin que quelque échange raisonnable se puisse faire des places les plus avancées en Flandre, contre des places nouvellement occupées dans la Franche Comté, ou autres qui seront plus en la bien-seance de la France, & moins à l'incommodité de l'Espagne & de nous autres.

De plus; pour ôter à la France tout prétexte dont elle se pourroit servir à raison qu'il pourroit y avoir quelque manquement au pouvoir dudit Marquis, ou en la matiere principale, ou par défaut de la clause de substitution ou autrement; il me semble qu'il sera tres necessaire que la Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux se fassent fort de la ratification & de l'accomplissement de tout ce qui sera traité & conclu à Aix; & promettent en la maniere la plus forte que le Roy de France le pourra desirer, d'obliger en cas de besoin l'Espagne à ladite ratification, & au dit accomplissement, de toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre: & enfin, qu'en toute autre occurrence on fera tres judicieusement d'obvier à toutes les exceptions & delais qui pourroient estre apportez au prejudice

ther, when we shall have brought the King of France to an absolute necessity of either finally concluding or discovering his intention contrary to the peace: in that case, upon the first step France shall make to frustrate Christendom of such a general good, the King of Great Britain and the States shall without farther delay, bring all their forces by sea and land, not only for defence of the Spaniards, but also for the intent specified in the third of our separate articles, and more amply deduced in my dispatch of the 25th of February last.

For the rest, if you have received the King of Great Britain's ratification upon our last marine treaty, I shall wait till you think proper to exchange it; upon which I shall endeavour to conform the States to your desire; whether our ratification shall be sent to our Commissioners now with you; or whether you will please to send your Secretary or your brother here to the Hague; or whether you know any way will please you better: for in this and every other occurrence I shall endeavour to follow your desires, and second your intentions, as be-

prejudice de la paix. Mais aussi quand on aura mis par là le Roy de France dans une nécessité absolue de proceder outre à la conclusion finale, ou de decouvrir son intention contraire à la paix; qu'alors à la premiere demarche que la France ferait pour frustrer la Chrétienté d'un bien si salutaire, le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & les Etats Generaux feroient agir incontinent & sans marchander, toutes leurs forces par mer & par terre, non seulement pour la defense des Espagnols, mais aussi pour la fin spécifiée au troisieme de nos articles separés, & plus amplement deduite en ma depêche du 25 Fevrier passé.

Au reste, j'attendray de vous nouvelles si vous avez reçu la ratification du Roy de la Grande Bretagne sur nôtre dernier traité de marine, que vous jugerez à propos que l'on en fasse l'échange; sur quoy je tacheray de disposer les Etats à se conformer à vôtre desir; soit que l'on envoie nôtre ratification es mains de nos commissaires qui se trouvent presentement auprez de vous; soit que vous envoyez vôtre secretaire, ou bien Monsieur vôtre frere icy à la Haye; ou que vous scachiez encore quelque autre façon qui soit plus à vôtre goût: car, & en cela, & en toute autre occur-

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rence,

ing not by form of complement, but very really,

S I R,

Your, &c.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March

S I R, 25. 1668.

I received the honour of yours of the 25th instant, upon which I will tell you in few words, that I am wholly of your opinion; as well for what regards the King of France's disposition to carry on the war, the insufficiency of his offer to restore all he may conquer between the first of April and the fifteenth of May, the strained exceptions against the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo's powers, and his acceptation of the alternative; as chiefly for what regards the forces to be raised with all possible readiness, and the manner by which we ought to proceed to the defence of the Netherlands, as soon as the King of France shall begin to move against them. The States are every day more confirmed in the same sentiments, as their actions declare, by marching an army with all diligence to Bergop-zoom, and by sending an

expres

ence, je tacheray de suivre vos desirs, & de seconder vos intentions, comme estant non par forme de compliment, mais fort réellement,

Monsieur,

Vôtre, &c.

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 25

Monsieur, Mars 1668,

J'AY bien receu la lettre dont il vous a plu m'honorer du 25 me de ce mois, sur quoy je vous diray en peu de mots que je suis tout à fait de votre opinion, tant à l'égard de la disposition du Roy de France à continuer la guerre, l'insuffisance de l'offre de vouloir restituer tout ce qu'il pourroit conquérir entre le premier d'Avril & le 15me May; les exceptions recherchées contre les pouvoirs du Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, & contre son acceptation de l'alternative; que principalement & sur tout à l'égard de l'armement que l'on devoit avancer avec toute la promptitude possible, & de la manière de laquelle on devra accourir à la défense du Pais-bas, des que le Roy de France commencera à se remuer pour l'attaquer. Les Etats ont déjà approuvé & confirmé encore de jour en jour les mêmes sentimens par leurs actions; faisant marcher en toute diligence une armée aux environs de Bergopzoom

expres to the King of Great Britain with intelligence, that they are of opinion, that in order to satisfy the King of France upon the scruples proposed in Monsieur de Lionne's paper of the 19th instant, with promises and assurances sufficient, we must let him know discreetly, and yet positively, that we think his generosity will not suffer him to ruin a State, or a Minister of Spain, whom the King of England and the States General have obliged at his request, to accept the conditions prescribed, with a formal assurance, that by that means he should free himself from all danger of the war. And at least, that the honour and good faith of the King of Great Britain and the States cannot suffer such a State or Minister to be injured without lending him their service and assistance. And by every body's disposition here I am assured, that as soon as the agreement is concluded, we shall march to the assistance of the Netherlands, upon the first step France shall make to attack them, if the King of England will do the like. But to acquit our consciences, and let the world see the justice of our proceeding; I am entirely of opinion we must make all advances, and give all due assurances to France, to oblige them to the peace. Upon which, with many other particulars, I refer

gopzoom, & ayant envoyé leur avis par un exprez au Roy de la Grand Bretagne, qu'ils sont d'opinion qu'aussi bien que de satisfaire au Roy de France sur les scrupules proposés dans l'ecrit du Sieur de Lionne du 19me de ce mois, avec des assurances & promesses suffisants, il faudra luy faire savoir discrettement, & néanmoins bien positivement, que nous jugeons que sa générosité ne pourra pas permettre qu'il accable un Etat ou un Ministre d'Espagne, que le Roy d'Angleterre & les Etats Generaux ont obligé à sa requisition d'accepter les conditions prescrites, avec une assurance formelle que par là il se delivreroit de tout danger de la guerre: & qu'au moins l'honneur & la bonne foy du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats, ne pourra pas souffrir qu'on accable un tel Etat ou un tel Ministre, sans luy prêter leurs services & assistances: & je ne vois point de disposition icy, qui ne m'assure que l'oppignoration estant conclue, on marchera au secours des Pais-bas des la premiere demarche que le Roy de France fera pour l'attaquer, si le Roy de la Grande Bretagne en veut faire autant. Mais pour nous satisfaire en bonne conscience; & pour faire voir à tout le monde la justice de notre procede, je suis entierement d'opinion qu'il faudra faire toutes les avances, & donner toutes les assurances requises à la France, pour parvenir, & pour l'obliger

fer you to the Deputies of the States to communicate to you; having not time at present to enlarge farther, but only to repeat in one word, that I am truly,

S I R,

Your, &c.

Johan. de Witt,

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March

S I R,

4. 1668.

I could not immediately answer yours of the 2d instant, by reason of a fever I got by a great cold last night; but towards noon the fever lessening, gives me leave at present to tell you, that tho' it is now some days since Monsieur Beverning's departure for Aix la Chapelle, yet I do not see how in the present conjuncture of affairs it should be more necessary for you to reside in that city than at Brussels; but on the contrary, that the affair is now reduced to such a point, that the business which carried you to Aix, ought to be treated and finished in a few days, in the place where you are, and in the Netherlands; and I think the King of Eng-

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l'obliger à la paix. Surquoy, comme aussi sur plusieurs autres particularitez, je me remets à ce que les Deputez de l'Etat vous communiqueront plus en detail, n'ayant pas de tems de m'etendre icy plus amplement, mais seulement pour repeter en un mot que je suis tres veritablement,

Monsieur,

Vôtre, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 4.

Monsieur,

Mars, 1668.

UN grand rheume qui m'a suscité une fièvre la nuit passée, a esté cause que je n'ay pas pu vous repondre d'abord à votre lettre du 2d de ce mois: mais vers le midi la fièvre estant beaucoup diminuée, me laisse presentement la faculté de vous dire, que quoy qu'il y a déjà quelque jours que Monsieur de Beverning est parti pour se rendre à Aix la Chapelle, je ne voy pas pourtant que dans la conjuncture presente des affaires, votre séjour soit plus nécessaire au dit lieu qu'à Bruxelles; mais que tout au contraire, l'affaire est presentement reduite à un point, que ce pour quoy vous vous fussiez transporté à Aix, se pourra & se devra traiter & achever en peu de jours au lieu

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land's Ministers; and those of the States at Paris, have negotiated with address in procuring us an instrument, which in a few days will put us in a clear light upon what we are finally to resolve and to do; if the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo seconds us, as we hope and expect from his prudence, and from the visible interest of his Master, which obliges him to it. I speak of the project of the treaty drawn upon the foot of the *alternative*, and concerted between the said Ministers of our Masters at Paris, and the Commissioners of the King of France, whereof I am sure you have received a copy from Sir John Trevor. I think this project gives us a certain way of obtaining the peace; or else a war, wherein all the Princes and States of Christendom will support us, or at least, commend our conduct and proceeding. And I think we must proceed in it after this manner: I suppose beforehand that you and our Deputies with you, will not be at much pains to dispose the Marquis to send immediately a power to Monsieur Beverning and Sir John Trevor, to sign in his (the Marquis's) name, and from the King his Master, the treaty with the King of France's Commissioners, agreeable to the project abovementioned, which I find entirely conformable to our agreement

où vous estes & au Pais-bas: & il me semble que Messieurs les Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & des Etats à Paris, ont négocié adroitement de nous avoir sceu procurer un instrument qui nous mettra en peu de jours dans une clarté entière pour résoudre finalement ce que nous aurons à faire; si le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo nous y seconde comme nous l'esperons & l'attendons de sa prudence & de l'intérêt visible de son Maître qui l'y oblige. Je parle du projet de traité dressé sur le pié de l'*alternative* & concerté entre les dits Ministres de nos Maîtres à Paris & les Commissaires du Roy de France, dont je m'assure que vous aurez reçu copie de la part de Monsieur Trevor. Il me semble que ce projet nous donne en main un moyen assuré pour avoir la paix, ou une guerre dans laquelle tous les Princes & Etats de la Chrétienté nous appuieront, ou au moins loueront notre procédé & notre conduite. Et voicy comme quoy, à mon avis, nous y pourrions procéder. Je suppose que vous & Messieurs nos Deputés qui se trouvent auprès de vous, n'auront pas beaucoup de peine à disposer Monsieur le Marquis d'envoyer incessamment un pouvoir à Messieurs van Beuningen & Trevor, pour signer en son nom & de la part du Roy son Maître, le traité avec les Commissaires du Roy de France, conformément au projet susdit que je trouve entièrement conforme à notre

greement and secret articles, as Monsieur Beuninghen tells us, that he and Sir John Trevor made the same judgement of it. Unless his Excellency would rather sign the said treaty himself, and receive the exchange of it signed by the King of France. In which case I think there may be only writ on the top of the project, *A Treaty of peace between the Kings of Spain and France, to prevent disputing upon the terms of the preface*; and beneath, to add the date. This being done, the aforesaid Ministers at Paris must, in my opinion, offer the King of France to sign in the King of Spain's name, or (in case his Excellency thinks fit to sign himself) to exchange the treaty signed; on condition that France will consent to a reasonable time to procure the ratification from the Queen of Spain; and above all, the continuance of the cessation of arms during the time agreed. I see that for granting this term a little more to the humour of France, you will be more liberal and complaisant than I: for whereas you are satisfied with the term till the 15th of May already proposed by Monsieur de Ruigny, I think reason and decency should oblige to take till the end of May. And if the King of France refuses either to sign on his side;

* And in the other instrument; of France and Spain,

notre convention est à nos articles secrets; ainsi que le Sieur van Beuninghen nous mande aussi, que luy & Monsieur Trevor en ont rendu ce même jugement. Si ce n'est que son Excellence ayme mieux de signer luy même ledit traité, & d'en recevoir un en échange signé de la part du Roy de France, au quel cas il me semble que l'on n'auroit qu'à mettre dessus le projet, *Traité de paix entre les Roys d'Espagne & de France*; pour ne disputer pas sur les termes de la preface; & au bas d'ajouter la date. Cela étant fait, il faudra à mon jugement que lesdits Ministres à Paris offrent au Roy de France de signer au nom du Roy d'Espagne, ou bien d'échanger le traité signé, si son Excellence ayt trouvé bon de signer luy même; moyennant que la France accorde un terme raisonnable pour procurer la ratification de la Reyne d'Espagne, & sur tout la continuation de la cessation d'armes pendant ce terme un peu au gré de la France, vous seriez plus liberal ou complaisant que moy; car au lieu que vous vous contenteriez du terme de 15me de May cy-devant proposé par Monsieur de Ruigny, il me semble que la raison & la bienveillance nous obligeroient bien de prendre jusques au dernier jour de May: & si le Roy de France vient à refuser ou la signature de son côté, ou le terme avec la cessation d'armes, je ne

* Et en l'autre instrument de France & d'Espagne.

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or to grant the said term with the cessation of arms, I should not stick to declare immediately for *Spain*, and act by sea and land in conformity to our third separate article.

And since it cannot enter into a reasonable man's mind, that the Queen of *Spain* can be so blind as not to ratify the said treaty, by which a * whole Province is restored, and a minor King delivered from being engaged in a second war with us and *Spain*; I should not be hard at granting the King of *France* whatever he can demand with any appearance of reason, in a case that will never arrive; chiefly, because many Princes of *Germany* will then declare on our side, who might else (blinded by the appearances of reason in Monsieur de Lionne's letter of the 19th past) abandon us entirely. The King of *Sweden*, or his Minister at *London*, do, I think, stretch the cord too far, and he will break it if he does not yield a little. However we have last *Wednesday* sent such orders to our Ambassadors, that I doubt not a good success of this negotiation.

For the other points of your letter, I must refer myself to what you can learn from our Deputies and his Excellency, by advices from the Ambassador Don Estevan de Gamarra.

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hesiterois point à nous declarer d'abord sans marchander, pour l'Espagne, & agir par mer & par terre en conformité du 3me de nos articles separez.

*Et comme il ne peut tomber dans l'esprit d'un homme raisonnable, que la Reyne d'Espagne pourroit estre si aveugle que de ne ratifier point le dit traité que luy fait rendre une * Province entiere, & qui delivre un Roy mineur d'un second accablement de l'Angleterre & de cet Etat; je ne serois nullement chiche à accorder au Roy de France tout ce qu'il pourroit demander avec quelque apparence de raison, dans un cas qui n'echerra pas. Principalement parceque plusieurs Princes d'Allemagne alors se declareront de nostre parti, qui sans cela, aveugles par les apparences du raisonnement compris dans la lettre de Monsieur de Lionne du 19me du mois passé, nous abandonneroitent entierement. Le Roy de Suede, ou son Ministre à Londres me semble trop tendre la corde; & il la rompra s'il ne se met un peu à la raison: neanmoins nous avons encore Vendredy passé envoyé tels ordres à nos Ambassadeurs que je ne doute d'un bon succès de cette negotiation.*

Quant aux autres points de votre lettre, je suis obligé de me remettre à ce que vous pourrez entendre de nos Deputez & de son Excellence par les avis de l'Ambassadeur Don Estevan de Gamarra.

* The County of Burgundy.

* La Comté de Bourgogne.

therefore I shall conclude remaining,

Gamarra. C'est pourquoy en finissant je demeureray comme je suis veritablement,

S I R,

Monfieur,

Your, &c.

Votre, &c.

Johan. de Witt.

Johan de Witt.

From the Elector of Mentz.

De l'Electeur de Mayence.

Mentz, April

A Mayence, 12

My Lord, 12. 1668.

Monfieur, Avril, 1668.

HAVING heard of your Excellency's arrival at Aix-la Chapelle, to assist in his Majesty of Great Britain's name at a negotiation of peace between the two Crowns, I could not forbear expressing my joy, and the confidence I have that the intervention and authority of so great a King, will give much weight to the affair, and very much facilitate the peace; which employing all my thoughts at present, I have dispatched to the said town of Aix, the Baron of Schonborn my nephew, with orders to render all offices from me to your Excellency, and to contribute all he can towards a peace so necessary to the repose of all Christendom. In the mean time I desire your Excellency to be assured, that, as I shall always reckon it an honour to serve the King your Master, so I shall never let

Ayant sceu l'arrivée de votre Excellence à Aix la Chapelle pour y assister au nom de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne à la negotiation de la paix entre les deux Couronnes; je n'ay pû m'empêcher de luy temoigner ma joye, & la confiance que j'ay que l'intervention & l'autorité d'un Roy si puissant donnera un poids tres grand à l'affaire, & facilitera de beaucoup la conciliation & le retablissement de cette paix: laquelle faisant aujourd'hui tous mes soins, j'ay depêché à ladite ville d'Aix le Baron de Schonborn mon neveu avec ordre d'offrir & de rendre à votre Excellence de ma part, tous les offices, & de contribuer de son possible pour parvenir à la fin que l'on s'est proposée, pour obtenir une paix si necessaire au repos de toute la Chrétienté. Cependant je prie votre Excellence d'estre assurée que comme je feray toujours gloire de servir le Roy son Maître;

302 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

pass any occasion of shewing
in particular that I am,

*tre; de même je ne perdray ja-
mais l'occasion où je pourray te-
moigner en mon particulier que
je suis,*

My Lord,

Your Excellency's

most humble

and affectionate servant,

J. Ph. El. de Mayence.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, March

8 I R, 16. 1668.

After having writ to you on
the 4th, I find myself
honoured by two of yours of
the 9th and 14th instant. The
Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo's
manner of transacting does in-
finitely displease us; and we
believe we have entered e-
nough into his designs, to con-
clude, that his aim is to delay
the signing of the project, and
the sending of the powers till
the French begin to be in moti-
on: and in the mean while to
sign or send the power desired,
and summon us by virtue of a
former promise to oppose our
arms against those of France,
which will then begin to enter
into action, and by that means
set us into an open war by ad-
vance. However, to give the
said Marquis the amplest as-
surance

Monsieur,

De vôtre Excellence

le tres humble,

& tres affectionné serviteur,

J. Ph. E. de Mayence.

De Monsieur de Witt.

A la Haye, 16

Monsieur, Mars, 1668.

Après que je vous ay escrit le
4me je me trouve honoré de
vos deux dépêches du 9me & 14me
de ce mois. La maniere d'agir
de Monsieur le Marquis de Ca-
stel-Rodrigo nous deplait infini-
ment; & nous croyons pénétrer
assez ses visées, pour conclurre
que son but est de delayer signa-
ture du projet & l'envoy du pou-
voir jusques à ce que les Fran-
çois commencent à se remuer; &
de signer en même temps ou d'en-
voyer le pouvoir désiré, & de
nous sommer en vertu d'une pro-
messe préalable d'opposer nos ar-
mes contre celles de France qui
commenceront alors d'entrer en
action, & par ainsi nous mettre
en guerre ouverte par provision.
Neanmoins pour donner au dit
Marquis une assurance plus
ample, & pour achever de le
mettre

surance, and to convince him he is in the wrong, we were willing entirely to agree to your advice, and to authorize our Deputies to pass a promise with you in due form by writing, inserting in it the same words of our third separate article. And I think you have very judiciously considered, that the condition of the promise ought to be, not only the signing of the project and powers; but if after the signing, &c. France refuses either to consent to it, or to continue the suspension of arms, we believe we have great cause to complain of the Marquis, that notwithstanding the solemn promise made by the States General, and delivered to Don Estevan de Gamara in their resolution of the 5th of this month, he has delayed to sign and dispatch the power; so that if this had been done at first, we had been already out of all doubt; for either the conclusion of it would have been pursued at Paris with the suspension of arms: or, in case of refusal, England and this State would already act in earnest, and with a good conscience, for Spain. And I desire you to let his Excellency see as plainly as possible, that if now after the signing and sending the power to Paris, and before the King of France can be informed of it, he shall receive any disgrace, it is himself

mettre dans le tort, nous avons bien voulu nous conformer entièrement à votre avis, & autoriser nos Deputez à passer avec vous la promesse en bonne & due forme par écrit; y inserant les mêmes paroles troisieme de nos articles separés; & je juge que vous avez très judicieusement considéré que la condition de la promesse doit estre non seulement la signature du projet & des pouvoirs; mais si après la signature, &c. la France refuse ou d'y consentir, ou de continuer la suspension d'armes: nous croyons avoir grand sujet de nous plaindre du Sieur Marquis en ce que non obstant la promesse solennelle, faite par les Etats Generaux, & delivree à Don Estevan de Gamara dans leur resolution du 5me de ce mois il a delayé de signer & de depêcher le pouvoir; d'autant, que si cela eut esté fait d'abord, nous nous trouverions déjà hors de toute obscurité; car ou la conclusion en aurois esté suivie à Paris, avec la suspension d'armes; ou en cas de refus, l'Angleterre & cet Etat agiroient déjà de bon cœur & en bonne conscience pour l'Espagne. Et je vous supplie de faire voir à son Excellence le plus vivement qu'il se pourra faire, que si à cette heure après la signature ou l'envoy du pouvoir vers Paris, & avant qu'on en aïssé avoir averti le Roy de France, il reçoit quelque disgrâce; que ce sera à soy même à qui il se devra imputer: car l'Angleterre & cet Etat ne peuvent pas luy donner en main

self he ought to impute it to ; for *England* and this *State* will not put into his hands the power of involving them in an open war with *France*, unseasonably, and against their intention clearly expressed in the agreement of the 25th instant ; which would have happened if we had left him the liberty to delay the signing or sending his power, till he had provoked the *French* to move ; or if then signing or sending the power, he had the right of employing our troops against those of *France*, before the King of *France* could have had intelligence of the said signing or sending of the said power, and by consequence before the said King could have finished the treaty, and continued the suspension of arms. I hope, and am assured, that after this pace, which is the last the *States* are capable of making in this conjuncture, the Marquis will not delay a moment the signing and sending of the peace to *Paris* ; but if, contrary to all appearance, he should be capable of doing so, I desire you to let him know, that neither *England* nor the *States* can assist one who manifestly refuses, and consequently that he will be abandoned on all sides ; and also that we shall find our selves under a necessity to reduce him by more effectual means, to accept really and effectually, by signing of the

main un moyen assuré pour les enveloper mal à propos & contre leur intention clairement exprimée dans la convention du 25me de ce mois dans une guerre ouverte avec la *France* ; ce qui ce seroit s'en luy laissant la faculté de delayer signature ou l'envoy de son pouvoir jusques à ce qu'il auroit provoqué les *François* de ce remuer ; ou qu'alors signant ou envoyant le pouvoir il eut le droit de faire agir nos troupes contre celles de *France* avant que le Roy de *France* eut pu avoir nouvelle de ladite signature ou de l'envoy dudit pouvoir, & par consequent avant qu'il eut pu faire achever le traité & continuer la suspension d'armes : j'espere & je me tiens assuré qu'après ce pas qui est le dernier que les *Etats* sont capables de faire en cette conjuncture, Monsieur le Marquis ne delayera plus un moment la signature & l'envoy d'un pouvoir vers *Paris* ; mais, si contre toute apparence, il fût capable de le faire, je vous supplie de lui faire voir comme il faut que ni l'*Angleterre* ni les *Etats*, ne peuvent pas assister un refusant manifeste ; que par consequent il sera abandonné de tous côtés, & qu'aussi nous nous trouverons nécessités de le reduire par des moyens plus efficaces à accepter reellement & en effet par la signature du traité, l'alternative qu'il a déjà accepté par un escrit separé. Et j'apprehend même que par les delais déjà passés, l'affaire ne soit reduite à un point pour ne pouvoir pas estre

the treaty, the alternative he has already accepted by a separate writing. And I even apprehend that by the delays already passed, the affair is reduced to a point not to be redressed; as in truth we shall find ourselves embarrassed enough, if the King of France be already gone from Paris to his army, before the project signed, or the power be arrived there. I cannot tell by what politic his Excellency desires his conduct should be decried by all men, or that his government should be lost; for, to think us so ill advised, that he can engage us in a war against France, when they on their side are earnest for concluding a peace, is what I cannot suppose; and if he thinks France will draw back, or refuse the suspension, then why he would not let it appear publicly to the world by a ready signing on his side; this is what I cannot comprehend. In the mean time Monsieur Colbert at Aix, has loudly made appear the easiness, and even the complaisance of his Master, by the protestation he has publicly made, that he has order to sign the *alternative*, without excepting against the preamble of the Marquis's power upon the defect of a faculty to substitute, or upon any other; whereas on the contrary, the Baron de Bergeyck is not authorized to do any thing

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estre redressée: comme en verité nous nous trouverions bien embarrassés, si le Roy de France fût déjà partie de Paris vers son armée, avant que le projet signe ou le pouvoir y fût arrivé. Je ne say pas par quelle politique son Excellence trouve bon de faire decrier sa conduite par tout le monde, & de perdre le pais de son gouvernement; car de nous croire si mal avisés qu'elle nous pourroit engager dans une guerre contre la France, lors qu'elle de son côté veut tout de bon conclurre la paix, c'est que je ne puis pas presupposer: & si elle juge que la France reculera ou refusera la suspension, pourquoy elle ne l'ayt pas voulu faire paroître publiquement devant tout le monde par une prompte signature de son côté, c'est ce que je ne puis pas comprendre. Cependant Monsieur Colbert à Aix a fait paroître hautement la facilité, voire la complaisance du Roy son Maître, par la protestation qu'il fait publiquement, qu'il a ordre de signer l'alternative, sans faire exception sur le preamble du pouvoir du Marquis, sur le defect de la faculté de substituer, ou autres; là où au contraire Monsieur le Baron de Bergeyck ne se trouve autorisé à rien. Et je vous assure que les avis positifs que nous en recevons, font tourner la tête à un chacun: ce pourquoy je vous supplie d'autant plus de tenir la main efficacement à ce que Monsieur le Marquis acheve l'affaire sans plus de delay: car

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si

at all: and I assure you, the positive advices we receive of it, make every body's head turn: therefore I desire you so much the more to endeavour effectually that the Marquis should finish the affair without any more delay; for if this last compliance of the States does not satisfy him, I confess to you I shall think no farther, but of some effectual means to reduce him to reason, and of some expedients by which the King of Great Britain and their High and Mightinesses may take measures with France for preventing the miseries of the neighbourhood; in which I hope you assist with as much application, according to the intent of our agreement, as I believe you will by all means endeavour to prevent a case so desperate, and so destructive to Spain: and for me I shall remain ever with much passion, Sir,

Your, &c.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, Aprile
27, 1668.

S I R,
Y O U ought to be well satisfied with your whole conduct, since the success so well answers your good intention, and that your work has so excellent an agreement with the

si cette dernière complaisance des Etats ne luy satisfait pas, je vous avoue que je ne songeray plus qu'aux moyens efficaces pour le reduire à la raison, & aux expedients, par lesquels le Roy de la Grande Bretagne & leurs Hautes Puissances se puissent entendre avec la France, pour prevenir les malheurs de son voisinage: en quoy j'espere que vous coopererez avec autant d'application selon l'intention de notre convention, que je me tiens assuré que vous tacherez par toute sorte des moyens de prevenir ce cas desesperé & ruineux pour l'Espagne. Et moy, je demeureray à jamais avec beaucoup de passion, Monsieur,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

Johan de Witt.

Monfieur, A la Haye, 27
Avril, 1668.

V O U S devez estre bien satisfait de tout votre conduite, puisque le succès repond si parfaitement à votre bonne intention, & que votre ouvrage a un si excellent rapport aux jondemens que vous

the foundations you had laid. All *Christendom* owes you the glory of having first disposed the King of Great Britain's mind to so strict an alliance between his Majesty and this State, for the universal good and peace of *Europe*. It is upon this principle you have continued to labour with so much application, and so successfully with the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, that it is chiefly to you we are obliged for the good disposition he is in at present, and for the enjoyment of so great an advantage to *Christendom* as results from it. I speak of it as a thing we possess already, because I see nothing that can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron de *Bergeyck* has already executed the power we have sent him; and that the Court of *Madrid*, in order to deliver *Flanders* from its troublesome guests, will no longer defer to ratify the treaty. For the rest, I agree extremely with your sentiments, and am of your opinion, some exchange of places should be negotiated immediately after the signing of the treaty.

I writ about it before to Monsieur *Beverning*, so that I do not doubt but you have been entertained with it already. I confess also with you, that this negotiation will be more conveniently managed afterwards at *Paris* than any where else,

vous en aviez jetté. Toute la *Chrétienneté* vous doit la gloire d'avoir donné la première disposition dans l'esprit du Roy de la Grande Bretagne à une si étroit liaison entre sa Majesté & cet Etat pour le bien & le repos universel de l'*Europe*. Sur ce principe vous avez continué de travailler avec tant d'application & si heureusement auprès de Monsieur le Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo*, que c'est à vous principalement à qui l'on est obligé de la bonne disposition en laquelle il se trouve présentement, & de la jouissance d'un si grand avantage pour la *Chrétienneté* qui en résulte. J'en parle comme d'une chose que nous possédons déjà, parceque je ne voy rien qui nous en puisse frustrer, y ayant de l'apparence que des à présente le Baron de *Bergeyck* aura exécuté le pouvoir que nous luy avons porté; & que la Cour de *Madrid*, pour délivrer les *Pais bas* de l'importunité de ses hôtes, ne voudra pas différer de ratifier le traité. Au reste, je donne fort dans vos sentimens, & suis d'avis que l'on fasse negotier quelque échange de places incontinent après la signature du traité,

J'en ay écrit cy-devant à Monsieur *Beverning*, de sorte que je ne doute point que vous ne vous en soyez déjà entretenus. J'avoue aussi avec vous que cette negotiation se fera plus commodément dans la suite à *Paris* qu'ailleurs; au moins si Monsieur le

else, at least if the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo can resolve to have confidence enough in the King of Great Britain's Ministers and those of this State, to refer to them the negotiation of an affair of this nature: though, if he considers it well, he will find that we both have the same interest in it. You have nothing else, but to go on your own way upon the foundation of the agreement of January the 23d, to support the peace made, by a guaranty of all who are interested in it, either in general or particular; never fearing that those who shall negotiate jointly with you in the name of this State, will disorder the harmony that has appeared in the whole course of this negotiation. What they can do, is as well from their own inclination, as in pursuance, of their orders. For me, I shall ever second your zeal with joy, and shall take all occasions to shew with how much passion and sincerity I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo peut résoudre à prendre assez de confiance aux Ministres du Roy de la Grande Bretagne & de cet Etat, pour s'en rapporter à eux de la negotiation d'une affaire de cette nature; quoyque s'il le considere bien, il trouvera que nous y avons les uns & les autres presque le même intérêt. Vous n'avez que continuer votre route sur le fondement de la convention du 23 Janvier, pour soutenir la paix faite par une guarantie de tous les intéressés en general & en particulier; & ne point craindre que ceux qui travailleront au nom de cet Etat avec vous, deconcertent cette belle harmonie que l'on a vue en toute le suite de cette négociation. Ils le feront non seulement en execution des ordres qu'ils en ont, mais aussi par inclination. Pour moy, ce sera toujours avec joye que je seconderray votre zele, & que je rencontreray les occasions où je vous puisse donner des preuves de la passion & sincerité avec laquelle je suis,

Monfieur,

Vôtre tres humble serviteur,

Johan de Witt.

From

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Whitehall, May 8. 1668.

IF I had written to you last post, (as I should have done if there had been time for it) you would have heard me complain much of the pain I was in not to hear from you in fifteen days in so delicate a conjuncture of affairs, which was occasioned by contrary winds. In the mean time we were a little eased by Sir *John Trevor's* assurance to us of the peace having been signed on the 2d, N. S. which has been since amply confirmed by two of yours brought together, of the 2d and 8th, N. S. so that now I can with foundation give you the *parabien* of this great work, which you may without vanity call your own, whatever *padrinoes* you have had to assist you in it: and with more satisfaction, considering what escapes you made betwixt the Marquis's irresolutions, the Baron *de Bergeyck's* puntilioes, and Monsieur *Colbert's* emportement. God be thanked, the great business and you are so well delivered from these accidents; after which I hope this will find you safely arrived at *Brussels*, and keeping yourself still in the same figure of equipage to wear the better the character of his Majesty's Ambassador at the *Hague*; towards which I will send you with all speed his final resolution and instructions. In the mean time you will receive by the inclosed, his mind to the Marquis, recommending to his Excellence the making good with all speed to the Crown of *Sweden* what we and the *Dutch* Ambassadors have promised to the Count *de Dona*, as you will see by this inclosed act, which we gave him at the exchange of our treaty, engaging him in the *triple alliance*; the performance of which the *Dutch* Ambassadors and I have already bespoken of the Count *de Molina* within six weeks time, when we hope the ratification will be come from *Stockholm*; and the said Ambassador

Ambassador observing already that the Count *de Molina* calls to the *Dutch* Ambassadors and us for a ratification; he admonishes us to delay it till the conditions be performed with him. This, I say, is offered, but not concluded by us to be so observed.

His Majesty had resolved the Parliament should adjourn on *Monday* last, but an unhappy difference falling out betwixt the Lords and Commons upon a great point of their privileges, their sitting hath been spun on to this day, tho' not without hopes of our finally rising to-morrow. Our long talked of miscarriages have this week been finished with a very unhappy one in the Queen; after twenty days going, and raising the dejected hopes of the whole nation, which even this misfortune hath somewhat revived. I leave it to Ambassador *Patrick* to entertain you upon this subject, who cannot fail of long letters by this post. I am with all truth and affection,

S I R,

Your very humble servant,

Arlington.

P. S. You never sent us any copy of the promise of guaranty you signed to the Marquis; though you did the original of that he gave you in exchange of it, with relation to the King our Master. When the Count *de Molina* hath pressed me apart from the *Dutch* Ambassadors for his Majesty's ratification, I have told him he ought to have ready his ratification from *Madrid* to exchange with ours; which it will not be amiss for you to take notice of likewise to the Marquis, when he shall give you occasion for it.

From

From the Elector of Mentz.

Mentz, May

My Lord, 14, 1668.

THE honour of a general joy upon the peace concluded and signed between the Crowns, being equally due to the vigorous interposition of his Majesty of Great Britain, and to the wise conduct of your Excellency in an affair of such importance to Christendom; I desire to rejoice with you upon the happy success of it. I hope, the ratification of this treaty will be exchanged in due time on both sides; and I shall not fail on my part, of contributing all I can to the preservation of the public peace, and to second his Majesty's intentions; assuring your Excellency in the mean time, that the obligations will never be forgot, which an infinite number of good Christians owe you for your diligences in accomplishing the peace: and that for my particular, I shall cherish all occasions of shewing your Excellency the sincerity of my affection, and how much I desire to let you know that I am,

Your Excellency's most humble
and most affectionate servant,

De Mayence,

Monfieur, 14 May, 1668.

L'Honneur d'une joye generale sur la paix conclue & signée entre les Couronnes, se devant également à la vigoureuse interposition de sa Majesté de la Grande Bretagne, & à la sage maniere dont vôtre Excellence a sceu conduire une affaire de telle importance à toute la Chrétienté; j'ay bien voulu me conjourer avec elle de l'heureux succès qui l'a suivi. J'espere que la ratification de ce traité sera échangée à son terme de part & d'autre; & ne manqueray de contribuer de ma part tout ce que je pourray à la conservation du repos public, & pour second-er les intentions de sa Majesté; assurant cependant vôtre Excellence qu'on n'oubliera jamais les obligations que luy doivent une infinité de bons Chrétiens pour les soins qu'elle a apportés à la conciliation de cette paix; & que pour mon particulier je cheriray les occasions par lesquelles je luy pourray temoigner la sincerité de mon affection, & combien je desire luy faire connoître que je suis,

Monfieur,

De vôtre Excellence tres

humble & tres

affectionné serviteur,

Jean Philippe El. de Mayence,
From

From the Duke de Roanez.

From the Camp of Ruysbrouk.

Monsieur, May 29, 1668.

THE Count of Rembourg has informed me this morning (being the 27th instant) at eleven o'clock, from the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo, of the arrival of the ratification; to which I sent answer, that I doubted not of what he did me the honour to write to me, but that I had no news of it from the King; be pleased that I repeat the same thing to you, to tell you that I wonder extremely how any one can complain that I have attacked their troops out of the city; since these acts of hostility are always allowed till the publication of the peace; for it is but yesterday that one of their parties attacked ours, whereof I sent you the prisoners back to Braine le Chateau; and the same day those of Braine le Chateau took 10000 Francs from the equipage of one of our captains. They might better inform you, how I send your prisoners back, without suffering them to be dismounted or plundered; that I allow no pillage that comes to my knowledge, and that they have dismounted and stript even my own domestics. For what the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo has assured you, that

his

Au Camp de Ruysbrouk.

Monsieur, 29 May, 1668.

Monsieur le Comte de Rembourg m'a fait sçavoir ce matin 27, à onze heures, de la part de Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo, l'arrivée de la ratification: a qui j'ay fait reponse, que je ne doutois pas de ce qu'il me faisoit l'honneur de m'ecrire; mais que je n'en avois aucune nouvelle du côté du Roy. Trouvez bon que je vous repete la même chose; & que je vous dise que je suis extrêmement étonné, que l'on se puisse plaindre de ce que j'ay fait attaquer leurs troupes hors de la ville: puisque ces sortes d'actes d'hostilité sont permis jusqu'à la publication de la paix, & que même hier un de leurs parties attaqua les nôtres, dont je renvoyay les prisonniers à Braine le Chateau; & le même jour, ceux du même Braine le Chateau prirent près de dix mille Francs d'equipage à un de nos capitaines. Ils pourroient encore mieux vous informer comme je renvoy leurs prisonniers, sans permettre qu'on les demonte & qu'on les depouille; que je ne souffre point de pillage, qui vienne à ma connoissance; & qu'ils ont demonté & depouille jusqu'à nos domestiques. Pour ce que Monsieur le Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo vous a assuré que ses troupes le 27me après midy, &

la

his troops on the 27th at noon, and the 28th or 29th at night, acted only in the defensive: if there be any action for the future, whereof I see no appearance, then I shall know by the issue, whether they have yet acted defensively or offensively. This is all I can answer you upon what is past, or to come. In expectation of the King's orders for publishing the peace at the camp, as it has been this day published at *Brussels*, you will do me justice to believe that no one is more than I,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

la nuit du 28^{me} ou 29^{me}, n'avoient agi qu'en se deffendant; c'est une verité dont je tombe d'accord: si à l'avenir il y a quelque action, à quoy je ne voy point d'apparence, alors je sauray par l'issue s'ils ont encore agi en se deffendant ou en attaquant. Voila ce que je vous puis repondre pour ce qui est passé, & ce qui peut arriver, en attendant les ordres du Roy pour faire publier la paix au camp comme l'on l'a publiée aujourd'hui à *Brusselles*; vous me ferez justice de croire qu'il n'est personne qui soit plus,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

Le Duc de Roanez.

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July

6. 1668.

S I R,

I Could not receive more agreeable news than what you tell me of your return hither with the character of Ambassador. I am sure you will not doubt the truth of what I say, when you reflect on the satisfaction I ought to have, and have already in the generosity and sincerity I have observed in all your proceedings. You have reason, Sir, to say, that it is impossible the King of *Great Britain* should not design to live in a perfect good

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intelligence

A la Haye, 6 Juill.

Monsieur,

1668.

Je ne pouvois pas recevoir un avis plus agreable que celui que vous me donnez de votre prochain retour avec la qualité d'Ambassadeur: je m'assure que vous ne douterez point de la verité de ce que je viens de dire; quand vous voudrez faire reflexion sur la satisfaction que je dois avoir, & ay en effet, de la generosité & sincerité que j'ay remarqué en tout votre procedé. Vous avez raison de dire, Monsieur, qu'il ne se peut, que l'intention du Roy de la Grande

R r

Bretagne

intelligence with this State, when he sends us a person who ought to be so dear to us upon so many considerations, honoured with a character that shews the esteem and friendship he has for this State: we shall endeavour the continuance of both, by doing all his Majesty can expect from his most faithful allies; and by the same means I shall endeavour to give his Majesty the marks of that profound respect I have for his person, and the proofs of those sentiments I have for your merit. And as you and I desire nothing on both sides, but to preserve eternally the good intelligence you have helped to strengthen, with so much success; I cannot doubt, but we may easily avoid whatever is capable of changing it. Permit me, Sir, to say, that you shall find me always disposed to give all facility to whatever can establish the common interest of either State; and as I know I shall always find the same disposition in you, I cannot but rejoice when I consider, that I shall have to negotiate with a Minister who possesses all the qualities that can make him succeed in whatever he undertakes.

This is all I am permitted to say, by an affliction lately come upon me, having lost a wife who was indeed the true half of me; whereof I make

Bretagne ne soit de vivre dans une parfaitement bonne intelligence avec cet Etat, puisque il nous envoy une personne qui nous doit estre chere par tant de considerations, revêtu d'un caractère qui marque l'estime & l'amitié qu'il a pour cet Etat. Nous tâcherons d'en mériter la continuation en faisant tout ce que sa Majesté pourra désirer de ses plus fideles allies; & par le même moyen tâcheray de luy donner des marques du profond respect que j'ay pour la personne de sa Majesté, & des preuves des sentimens que j'ay de vôtre merite. Et comme de part & d'autre, nous ne désirons rien, ni vous ni moy, que de conserver éternellement la bonne intelligence que vous avez aidé à affermir avec tant de succès; je ne puis pas douter que nous n'évitons sans peine tout ce qui pourroit estre capable de l'alterer. Permettez moy, Monsieur, que je vous dise encore, que vous me trouverez toujours disposé à donner une dernière facilité à tout ce qui pourra établir l'intérêt commun de l'un & de l'autre Etat; & comme je sçay que je trouveray toujours la même disposition en vous, il ne se peut que je ne me rejouisse quand je considere que j'auray à négotier avec un Ministre qui possède toutes les qualités qui le peuvent faire réussir en tout ce qu'il entreprendra.

C'est tout ce que me permet de dire presentement l'affliction qui m'est survenue, venant de perdre

no difficulty by this occasion to inform you, who have had the goodness to tell me, that you take part in my concerns; as on my side I shall ever do in all your interests, with that affection and sincerity where-with I am and shall remain all my life,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

From Monsieur de Witt.

Hague, July
27. 1668.

S I R,
IN your obliging letter of the 3d instant, I find so many marks of affection and tenderness for me, that I cannot defer to return you my most humble thanks, and to tell you, that of all the consolations given me in my affliction, there is none has been more effectual than what I received from you. I there find, it is the heart that speaks, and that you truly take part in my affliction, whereof I see you know the greatness, because you so well know the inestimable loss I have suffered. And I dare to say, that if any remedy be capable of closing the wound, it will doubtless be what

une femme qui faisoit en effet la veritable moitié de moy même; dont je ne fais point de difficulté de faire part per cette occasion, à celuy qui a eu la bonté de me temoigner qu'il en prend beaucoup de part à ce qui me touche; comme de mon côté j'en prendray toujours à tous vos interêts avec toute l'affection & sincerité avec laquelle je suis & demeureray tout ma vie,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble serviteur,

Jean de Witt.

A la Haye,
Monsieur, 27 Juill. 1668.

JE trouve dans l'obligeante lettre que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 3me de ce mois, stile du lieu, tant de marques d'affection & de tendresse pour moy, que je ne puis pas differer de vous dire que de toute les consolations que l'on me donne en mon affliction, il n'y en a point qui ait esté plus efficace que celle que je viens de recevoir de vous: j'y reconnois que c'est le coeur qui parle, & que vous prenez veritablement part à mon affliction; dont je voy que vous savez la grandeur puisque vous savez celle de la perte inestimable que j'ay faite: & j'ose dire que s'il y a un remede capable de fermer la playe, c'est sans doute celuy qui

what your gentle healing hand has applied to it. I confess it is somewhat sensible because it searches the wound, but it afterwards applies a balm that eases and lessens the pain. I receive it as I ought, and shall endeavour to profit by all your consolations, by combating my weakness with the strength of your reasons, which are dictated to you not only by that *Christian* philosophy whereof you make profession, but by that sincere friendship where-with you are pleased to honour me. I must humbly intreat you to be persuaded that I perfectly return your kindness, and am impatient for an occasion to give you proofs of it, which as I hope I shall find when we have the happiness to enjoy you, so I desire with passion to see you here, to let you judge of the intention of this State, to preserve faithfully the alliance that the King of *Great Britain* has pleased to make with it, but more particularly, to let you judge of the inclination I have to contribute thereto all in my small power; and to remain as long as I live,

Sir, your, &c.

qui y applique la main benigne & salutaire que vous me prêtez: elle se fait sentir je l'avoue, parce qu'elle sonde la playe, mais elle y applique ensuite un baume qui la doucit & qui en soulage la douleur. Je le reçois comme je dois, & tâcheray de faire mon profit de toutes vos consolations, en combattant une foiblesse avec la force de vos raisons, que vous dicte non seulement la philosophie Chrétienne, dont vous faites profession, mais aussi la très sincère amitié, dont il vous plaît m'honorer. Je vous supplie très humblement, d'être persuadé que j'y reponds parfaitement, que je suis dans l'impatience de vous en pouvoir donner des preuves; & que comme j'espère que j'en trouveray les occasions, lorsque nous aurons l'avantage de vous posséder, je desire avec passion de vous voir icy, pour vous faire juge de l'intention de l'Etat à entretenir fidèlement l'alliance qu'il a plu au Roy de la Grande Bretagne faire avec luy; mais bien plus particulièrement de l'inclination que j'ay à y contribuer tout ce qui est de mon petit pouvoir, & à demeurer tant que je vivray,

Monfieur,

Vôtre très affectionné &

très humble serviteur,

Johan. de Witt.

Froy

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

SIR, July 26. 1666.

I Received yours yesterday morning after you were gone hence; and am affraid the letter which I sent you from Mr. *Williamson*, might come unseasonably to discompose you: it not being so intended by me; nor I believe the message from the King to be otherwise intended than out of kindness and respect to you to hasten you away; that you might know how important he held your negotiations might be for his service at this critical time. And therefore I should be glad that you would take this by the right handle.

I had a letter this night from Sir *Thomas Clifford*, who writes, that they in the treasury have a great desire to accommodate you: and though it be not in the Privy Seal that you shall have three months advance besides the 1000 *l.* yet they will be careful that you receive the money as it is due. The draught of the instructions are sent away to my Lord *Arlington*, and expected back on *Tuesday* night, and the foreign committee appointed to sit on *Wednesday* to dispatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any intention in pressing your departure for *Holland*, but just and honourable towards you, and with respect to the greatness of the employment and the urgency of the King's affairs at this time to have you at the *Hague*: and (if you will take my opinion) I would not have you take other measures of it, even for your own sake. In the mean time, while you do stay, you may press on the business of your account, tho' I should not advise you to retard your journey upon that score. It may be as well pressed on by your Lady if she do not accompany you, or else by your solicitors (among whom I will be one) who, if any obstructions be, may write to you

to

318 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

to remove them: but you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your stay at last upon this new business (for so I may call it) may beget a misconstruction. You will pardon the freedom I take in imparting my own thoughts to you in this case.

I wish you and my Lady (to whom I recommend my humble service) a happy journey and all other felicities, as I wish to myself, who am ever,

Your faithful and very

affectionate servant,

Orl. Bridgeman, C. S.

Sir WILLIAM

Sir *WILLIAM TEMPLE*'s

FIRST EMBASSY

AT THE

H A G U E,

Begun August 1668.

To the Elector of Mentz. A l'Electeur de Mayence.

Hague, Aug. 31.

S I R, N. S. 1668.

I Did not receive the honour of your Highness's letter till some time after my arrival in England, with the inclosed for the King my Master, which he received with that esteem his Majesty always bears to what comes from your Highness; and having promised me an answer upon my return for Holland, which has been put off from day to day, I have deferred my particular acknowledgments to your Highness till I could value them by the honour of accompanying a letter

A la Haye, le 31

Monfieur, Aout, S. N. 1668.

L A lettre dont V. A. m'a honoré, & qui est datée du 14 de May, ne m'a été rendue que quelques jours après mon arrivée en Angleterre, avec elle j'ay reçu l'envelopé pour le Roy mon Maître, que je luy ay porté, & qu'il a receu avec les mêmes marques d'estime que sa Majesté a toujours fait paroître pour tout ce qui vient de la part de V. A. le Roy m'ayant promis la reponse pour le tems de mon retour en Hollande, qui a toujours trainé de jour en jour; j'ay différé de marquer à V. A. ma reconnoissance

letter from his Majesty. I send it now inclosed; and desire your Highness to believe, that I resent as I ought, the honour you have done me; and that I will preserve your Highness's letter among the greatest marks of honour to my family; and shall not fail upon all occasions to shew how much I shall cherish the title I pretend to with so much justice, of being,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

sance en particulier, jusqu'à ce que j'eusse l'honneur d'être porteur d'une lettre de sa Majesté. Je l'envoie à cette heure, & je supplie V. A. de croire que je ressens comme je le dois l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait, & que je conserveray sa lettre, & la conteray parmi les titres & les honneurs qui elevent la gloire de ma famille. Je ne laisseray échapper aucune occasion de témoigner combien je chéris & chériray toujours la qualité que je prens avec tant de justice de,

Monseigneur,

De V. A. &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 7. N. S. 1668.

Since my last I have not stirred out, but had the favour of several visits in my chamber; among the rest, one from Monsieur Meerman on Wednesday, and one of three hours from Monsieur de Witt yesterday. I fell into talk with the first, upon the matter of the Guinea Company; who said, my Lord Holles, and, as I remember, Mr. Secretary Morris, had spoken of it to him before; but only given him a general relation, upon which he could not sufficiently inform the States: that they had likewise mentioned some other parts of the marine treaty, by which the East-India Company thought themselves aggrieved, but remembered nothing particular besides the form of passports, in which we might receive what satisfaction we pleased, and the better definition of what was meant by a town invested.

invested. I told him, the business of *Guinea* was distinct from any thing of the marine treaty (though he was unwilling to understand it so); that I was very little instructed in the first, because his Majesty's commands in that point were only to procure the reference of it to Commissioners for the proposing rules by which both Companies should proceed, and thereby preventing the said Company's acting wholly by rules and officers of their own, which had been the first occasions of the unhappy disputes between us, and might possibly prove so again. For the marine treaty, I told him I had yet no instructions upon that subject, but might have in a little time; and thereupon took occasion of discoursing to him at large the whole business of commerce between us, and the necessity of giving us some reason and ease in those matters; upon which, tho' he seemed a little staunch, as his complexion is, and jealous of our great growth in trade, by a more parsimonious and industrious genius among us of late, than had formerly been; yet I found, what I said had impression on him: for he parted with great professions of contributing all he could towards the success of all negotiations between us; and went that night to communicate all to Monsieur *de Witt*, as I found by our conference next day. It began with his having perused my papers about the *Guinea* Company; upon which he desired to know if I had no other information than those gave me: for by those, the matter seemed favourable to them, by the letters of their Director being particular, and with relation to time, and to the articles of the *Breda* treaty, by which the new Settlements there were to be governed; whereas what concerned our pretensions was contained only in some loose examinations concerning possession or not possessed formerly by one or the other, without any reference to the constitutions made by the *Breda* treaty,

and without mentioning in any direct terms what it was we complained of, or what we desired.

The truth is, all the papers concerning that matter remitted to me by Mr. Secretary *Morris*, were only the *Guinea* Company's petition, the examination of Mr. *Thomas Crisp*, Captain *Merbrooke*, and Mr. *Be'ois*, with a letter and protest of the Director of the *Dutch West-India* Company. I excused my being so little informed, upon the reasons I had alledged to Monsieur *Meerman*, and pressed in the same manner the reference of it to Commissioners. He allowed his Majesty's consideration of preventing the two Companies proceeding by rules or executions of their own, to be very prudent and necessary; and that he knew the *States* would second his Majesty's good intention in it: and that when he could find the matter of fact and right but alledged in distinct testimonies of known persons, he doubted not but he should easily find a composure for all these disputes, and agree upon a constant reglement hereafter. And to this purpose he would send immediately to enquire among the officers of their Company for any papers that may have been remitted to them from our officers to theirs in *Guinea*; for he could not believe but that letter and protest of their Director had either been occasioned by some precedent letters or demands from some officers of ours, or at least followed by some answers, in which our demands and rights were asserted, as those of the *Dutch* were in those papers of their Director. I answered all, by insisting upon Commissioners according to my instruction, and argued its being a matter much more proper for such to debate and determine, as understood the coasts, situations, manner of trade in those parts, former possessions, and matters of fact past, than for him and me, how willing soever we should be to inform ourselves, or to find expedients; and went so far upon this subject, that he seemed inclined it should be so; at least when the

the pretensions were stated, so as it might appear what was to be referred to such Commissioners. But upon this he fell into the discourse of what Monsieur *Meerman* had told him, or I had formerly written to him, concerning some exceptions to the marine treaty; and how willing the States would be to alter the form of passports, when they knew how we desired it; and if the King wished any more particular definition of what should be esteemed *a town invested*, he did not doubt we might agree upon that too; having found me always to propose only what I thought reasonable, and to agree to what I found so; and he was made after the same manner, and so I should always find him. I easily perceived, that the thing he would be at, was, upon occasion of this *Guinea* matter, to know at once the bottom of all we pretended, in point of regulating commerce between us, having, I presume, heard more than was need perhaps, of all the noise made by the *East-India* Company upon the subject of the marine treaty, or by their patrons, either out of zeal to the good of our commerce, or out of envy at the success of so great a council and conduct of his Majesty, in which they had no hand, and upon which if we had lost a little in trade by changing the form of the articles at *Breda* into a marine treaty, (wherein I do not conceive how we lost at all) yet I am sure it was infinitely recompensed by the necessity, the unexpected success, and the great consequences of those other alliances, to which that circumstance of the marine treaty was made, I thought, but a sacrifice of smoke. And this I could not but say for his Majesty's satisfaction, and your Lordship's vindication, with those other Ministers, by whose advice that council was taken and pursued, finding every day more how highly it is applauded abroad, while it is maliced by some, and so little esteemed by others at home; though his Majesty has reaped already from it, both the whole honour of giving

ving peace to Christendom, and perhaps the only safety of his own Kingdoms, considering the conjunctures in which that council found us.

But to return to my conference with Monsieur de Witt: finding him lead me so industriously into a field wherein I had no intention to enter, I resolved however to take the occasion, and once for all, to say all I had thought, or your Lordship had infused into me, upon that subject. And so I told him plainly, that I was not yet instructed in that matter of our exceptions to the marine treaty, but believed I might be in a little time; that the particulars he mentioned were complained of in the treaty itself, and other things thought to be admitted, but that I could not enter into any particulars till I had instructions; but since he gave me the occasion, I would enter once for all into the general. I discoursed over to him the common interest, and indeed necessity, of preserving perpetual the present alliances between us, especially on their side, while the dangers were so great from the ambition and power, as well as neighbourhood of *France*; the great overtures would now be made us from thence to the prejudice of this alliance, and at all other times, whenever they could hope we were ready to receive them. That tho' I could give him no jealousy of them now, but on the contrary assure him he might be at ease on that side, and that the King would only have the honour by it, of setting them an example of his sincerity and constancy, which he would expect they should follow when the game begun with *them*, as it would after it ended with *him*. Yet I would tell him, that *France* was at all times capable of making us such offers, and of giving us our present account so well, though in exchange perhaps of danger to come (in case of no new revolutions) that whenever there should be in *England* a Prince less direct, or less foreseeing than his Majesty; or either a weak or corruptible ministry

nistry, I could not answer what measures we should take: that, upon this ground, I thought they could not do wiser than to root this alliance in the very hearts of the people, and current genius of the nation, and not rely wholly upon the present inclinations or judgement of his Majesty, or the dispositions of the Ministers: for if there were any thing that lay cross to it in the common interest or humour of the people, it would be upon all occasions breaking out to disturb it, and whenever *that* should concur with the dispositions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great noise in the world. I told him, that many persons in *England*, either to make way for the *French* alliance by weakening or breaking this; or else perhaps to discredit the most applauded councils of the present ministry, had made a noise about the marine treaty as if it had been a ruining the nation, and from thence took occasion to infuse into all people as far as they could, that we should never find any fairness, or directness, or equality, in all we treated with the *Dutch*; but subtilty, and hardship, and injustice and when the occasion was, obstinacy and injury, in all matters of commerce between us; while we gave them reason to believe we thought their friendship necessary, or very convenient to us. That I had, ever since I knew him, maintained the contrary to his Majesty, assured him of the sincerity I had found in their proceedings, and been always made confidently believe by them, that his Majesty should find them ever reasonable and easy in what should be offered in reducing matters of commerce to an equality, and to be reciprocal between us. That it was a small matter, that all my credit, and perhaps fortune, lay at stake upon their making this good: but I was sure it was considerable that the very safety of our alliance might at one time or other come to lie at stake upon it too. And therefore for my part, I thought they could not do in the world a wiser thing, than to give us all rea-
sonable

sonable satisfaction in these points, by consenting to any reglements of commerce which might import equality, and be reciprocal between us. That any equality itself would be the same advantage to them, that a long arm against a short would be between two men with equal swords; for considering their parsimony, industry, necessity of turning all their stock to trade for want of land, and multitude of people; and on the other side, our native luxury, want of order or application, and our extent and cheapness of land, and ease of taxes, which made people chuse to turn their money that way; they could never fail of advantage enough in any equality, and upon it would find the surest, the most commodious ally, and the best able to protect them that they could have in the world, being without any ambition or designs among our neighbours, farther than to keep the balance of *Christendom*; and yet on the other side, the only power that was feared by *France*, and that were able in conjunction of our fleets with theirs, to awe them by what they might suffer from sea, into some consideration of what was fit for them to act at land.

During this discourse, which I enlarged the most I could to the purpose, resolving to bend all my force upon the effect of it; I found Monsieur *de Witt* very attentive, and willing to let me go on, with marks in his countenance of relishing, and, as I thought, approving what I said; which made me resolve to go yet one point farther, and to the root of all that could spring into any jealousies between us. I told him, it was true, that there wanted not some among us that would be so wise to know, that it was impossible for us ever to fall into any firm confidence with the States upon their present constitution, nor particularly with him, upon the Prince of *Orange's* occasion: that for my part, I was not at all of that mind: that though the King could not lose the affection he had for his nephew,

phew, yet he was of opinion he could not express it better than by infusing into him the belief, that he could make himself no way so happy as in the good will of the *States*, and trusting wholly to them in the course of his fortunes, and not to private factions, or foreign intrigues and applications. That his Majesty was of an opinion himself, that Princes were not apt to do themselves more hurt, and make themselves less, any way than by affecting too much power, or such as was directly contrary to the stomach and genius of the country which fell to their share: and besides this, I knew his Majesty was so just and so reasonable, that though he should take kindly of the *States* any respects they should shew his nephew, yet I did not believe he would offer that to any other King or State, which he should not take well that any other should offer to him; and I did not believe he would ever be put upon any such designs by his council, or his people's inclinations. For they who looked upon the Prince in a possibility of one day coming to be their King; and that loved a Prince who grounded his power in the affections of his people, and loved to rule by laws, had rather perhaps see the Prince of *Orange* happy in the good will of the *States*, and such moderate power as they should think consistent with their government, than of a humour that aims at any thing that might tend to subvert their civil constitutions: so that I saw nothing of danger to them upon this chapter, either from the judgment and disposition of his Majesty, or the humour of the nation: but was confident, in case we could agree upon matters of commerce, nothing could ever intervene to break an alliance that was so useful to ourselves, and all *Christendom* besides. And so I left it with him.

Upon this discourse, Monsieur *de Witt* with very great signs of satisfaction told me, that all I said was reasonable, that he agreed with me perfectly in it: and
upon

upon that, said a great deal of the sympathy he had ever observed between us, and how easy that would ever make any thing we should fall in treaty of. That he knew from Monsieur *Meerman*, I had been the occasion of giving him any credit in *England* of an honest sincere man, and he would never lose mine upon that occasion by giving the King cause to believe other of him. That he confessed he had often told me, that the *States* would ever be contented with an equality with us in point of trade; and, that provided they might know what it was we would be at, and that we proposed nothing but what was equal and reciprocal between us; he would give me his hand (as he did) that he would use all his endeavours to give us satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the minds of the *States* so well, that he durst almost promise it me in their names by advance, and without knowing what it was. That for any thing amiss in the marine treaty, he did not see how any complaint could be made of what I had done in it; but that the Ambassadors at *Breda* ought to answer for that, if there were any thing ill in it, ours being but word for word the same with theirs, and both parties consent being necessary to alter what was then provisional, as what is now more formally established. That, for the form of the passports, let me but bring one drawn up as we desire it, and in terms current with the forms of their State, and it shall be immediately agreed to. That, for defining what towns shall be said to be besieged, he is very willing that should be done too, since it imports the same for one as t'other: and even for any other matters that were thought necessary to be added to the marine treaty, since nothing else was desired to be altered: if his Majesty would instruct me fully in all points, and that they proved as I said, equal and reciprocal, he would once more undertake we should agree upon them, and desired me to assure his Majesty so much; and he thought,

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the sooner I was instructed in it, the better: but desired that no use might be made of this, to encourage either the *East India* Company or others, to make new exceptions or demands, but only I might be instructed in those which had been made already: and that, I said, I durst promise him, for they had been already digested before the council. From this, he fell to discourse of our alliance, and the considerations we had to strengthen and continue it; and how much he was pleased with what I said of the King's resolution upon that point, of his shewing them an example of constancy, and that I could never doubt their following it. And among other things said, the *States* had sucked that in like milk, which was already passed into the very flesh and substance of their body: and we might be the more confident of it, since the Minister they employed in *France*, and through whose hands all such matters must pass, and be represented to the *States* by the lights he should give them, was as firm and earnest upon it as any man could be: that he knew *France* would try them as well as us, and would not say but they might possibly gain some one of the little provinces; but for *Holland* in particular, and the provinces in general, it was not a thing to be thought on. From this he fell to speak of the Prince of *Orange*; and seemed very much pleased with what I had said on that subject, both of the King's dispositions, and the people's humours and thoughts, especially that of the King, of doing as he would be done by: he said, the *States* intentions were to make him Captain-general of their forces and Admiral too, though it was not mentioned; and to this purpose they would already have brought him into the Council of State in order to fit him for those charges, had it not been for some of the provinces that had hindered it upon pretence of more kindness to him, and designing greater matters for him. That it was indeed agreed those charges were inconsistent

with that of *Stadtholder*, which gave as much authority in the civil, as the others in the military part of the government. That, considering the smallness of their State, and greatness of their malice, there was an end of their republic when both was in one hand. That for his part, if he had been born under a King, he could never have consented to what his ancestors did towards the King of *Spain*; but being born under a commonwealth, and sworn to maintain it, he could consent to nothing that should destroy it; and he wondered how it had subsisted so long in that danger, which was to be attributed to their constant wars abroad, and to the great moderation of those Princes among whom none had thoughts of it but the last; nor would he ever have fallen into them without having been put upon them by the *French*, who had his breeding and his conversation. That, if he had lived, he would have been the ablest of all the race; and from thence fell into commendations of this young Prince's parts and dispositions: and so this matter ended.

For the business of *Spain*, he was scandalized as well as your Lordship, at that Queen's slight answer, and pleased with his Majesty's letter upon it. He said, the talk of *Don John's* coming began to renew; and that in the mean time, the Marquis neither answered upon the *Swedish* subsidies, nor pressed them upon the guaranty, because they had refused to give it without the compliance of *Spain* in the other point. I pursued that no farther, having not yet heard from the Marquis, nor from the *Spanish* Ambassador here upon it. The treaty between the Emperor and *Sweden* is not yet ratified, upon a disagreement in the private article about money to be furnished them by the Emperor, who stands upon giving but one hundred and eleven thousand dollars a year, upon some calculations made by some certain quota's upon the several parts of the empire; and the *Swedes* demanding one hundred and fifty

fifty thousand, which would make one imagine the *Spaniards* had not one of their five senses left, to hazard or delay for such a sum, a treaty wherein your Lordship will observe a particular clause, leaving room for *Spain* to enter into it as they please.

While I am writing, I receive this inclosed from the *Swedish* Envoy here, by which you will see how unhappily a poor Ambassador is *embarrassé* by the ceremonies that hinder him from seeing those that have so much mind to it, and with whom he must have so much to do. What expedients I shall find hereafter, I know not yet; but shall let him know, that being *incognito* till my entry, *Et ne faisant pas l'Ambassadeur*, if he pleases to come and be content, that as *incognito* I neither receive him nor conduct him out of my chamber, I shall in it give him all the civilities he expects, as I have hitherto done upon the same pretence of being yet *incognito*, to all persons of quality that have seen me here. Your Lordship will tell me if I do well or ill; and in recompence I shall only tell you, that I shall not think I do well longer than you esteem me what I am so much,

Your, &c.

To the Count de Molina.

Al Sennor Molina.

Hague, Sept. 9.

La Haye, Sept. 9.

My Lord, N. S. 1668.

Exmo. Senr. S. N. 1668.

After a tiresome passage by sea the pleasure of your Excellency's letter was not a little necessary to divert and relieve me, renewing with the *Spanish* language at least the memory of my past happiness at *Brussels*. I read the paper that came with it, and much esteem

Ennor mio, despues de un passaje de mar muy enfadoso, ne me era menester cosa de menor gusto que la carta de V. E. para recrearme, y con la lengua *Espagnola* refrescar al menos la memoria de mis passados contentamientos de *Brussellas*. He leydo tan bien el papel adjunto con

esteem the honour the Marquis does me in still preserving me in his memory and favour, which I shall not fail myself of acknowledging with the first occasion.

I am much pleased with what they tell me here, of the good condition of the Army in *Flanders*; and that they begin, with the money they have received, to recover new life; if they have too much, I wish it were employed in *Sweden*, to bring that nation into the Spanish interest.

I pray God to preserve your Excellency many years, and give me many occasions of serving you.

I kiss your Excellency's

hands, &c.

con mucha estima de la honra que me baxa el fennor Márques de no haverme olvidado ny echado menos en sus buenas gracias, lo que le be de agradecer como devo con la primera ocasion.

Mi huelgo mucho di entender loque me dizen aqui delas lindas tropas que se hallan aora en Flandet, y que comiençan a cobrar la vida con el dinero lo que ay de sobrado, quisiera mucho que fuesse en Suecia para enterar los de esta gente en los interesses Espanoles.

Guardede Dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo, y me de muchas ocasiones di servir le.

Exmo. Sr.

B. L. M. D. V. E.

Su mayor Servidor,

To my Lord Keeper,

My Lord,

Hague, Octob. 2. N. S. 1668.

I Received the honour of two from your Lordship, of the 4th and 10th past together, in one packet from Mr. *Williamson*, about the time of my last dispatch into *England*, which was the reason of my not answering them the same day; besides that I had written to your Lordship a long one about another subject by that post.

For all that touches the marine treaty, I must refer to my Lord *Arlington's* letters by this ordinary. As to the point of my treating envoys, I think it is better to let it rest as it is, than for your Lordship to

move

move any farther in it ; and be content we should follow, since we are not at present of a humour to lead.

I believe I could order it so, as *Spain* and *Sweden*, and this State, should alter the custom by consent with us ; but that which I wished was, that his Majesty might have said singly, he would follow no other Prince's rules but the old ones which he had used, and seemed to approve by Sir *George Downing's* demands, and so given me order at my first coming, to give the hand and door as all Ambassadors did, till the *French* caprice changed it about eight years ago : and this I took to have been of more honour as well as advantage to his Majesty ; but it seems I did not understand it right ; it may be others would have understood it so too, if they had seen both *Spain*, *Sweden*, and these States, and all others except *France*, follow his Majesty's example, which I could have held a fair wager of, and is every body's opinion here, as it is many people's, that *France* itself would have fallen in too, upon the advantage in commerce with other Ministers which would have followed it ; for if I had given it, not one Resident would ever have seen the *French* Ambassador without it, whereas two or three of them now do both him and me. I am sure, if *France* understand it right, they will take an occasion to change it themselves, and to reap the first profit, and all the honour as well as pleasure of seeing us all dance after them both up and down as our leaders in a country dance ; and I am sure I had as lieve be lame as do so ; and cannot tell why his Majesty should not think of being in the head both of the affairs and forms in *Christendom*, as well as any of his neighbour Kings.

I acquainted Monsieur *de Witt* both with the examinations, and what your Lordship writ about the prisoners from *Surinam* : he is of opinion, the complaint lies still on their side, as it did at first ; that Captain *Needham's* person, who had first left my Lord

Willowby

Willowby to come to the *Dutch*, and after them to my Lord *Willowby*, made them expect nothing friendly from him; that his commission was very extraordinary, and to be executed upon *Indians* who were their subjects; that he knows not what can be done farther than to send offenders to be both examined and punished by their own Prince; that if they were ill used by the way, the *Dutch* were very much to blame in that, and it is a thing he abhors (but we have yet only their own words for that) and he will enquire as far as he can into the whole matter. In the mean time, I having no instructions upon it, either to complain or demand, had nothing more to do than to acquaint him with it, till I should receive any farther orders. I hear the same here which your Lordship does there, of the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo's* intentions to pass through *England* into *Spain*, which I should be glad of: I believe with your Lordship, he will have credit in the councils of *Spain*; and since you would have me think of what I judge fit to be proposed to him, I will give you my opinion concerning our affairs with *Spain*, though I am likely enough to be prejudiced in it, by so particular acquaintance with the weakness of their present conduct, and division of their councils, as well as the consequences of them; which are, want of order in their government, their armies, their revenue, and I doubt, at present, even of genius in their nation, which ever rises and falls according to that of the Prince or ministry: for, if men see the way to rise, is by worth and virtuous qualities, the genius of a nation will run that way, and produce great subjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious humours, by little arts, by warm pursuits every man of his own interests; the whole spirit runs into those courses, and perhaps the faster, from the propension of our natures rather to ill than to good.

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After all, I am of opinion, that our present interest, and that of all *Christendom* besides, in some measure, is the defence of *Spain*, and not only in *Flanders*, but in all other parts where it shall not be able to defend itself against the power and ambition of *France*; from whence alone we have all our present fears, and shall find our dangers upon any farther growth; for if a great accession should come to them in *Navarre*, *Catalonia*, *Italy*, during the *Spanish* King's life, or upon his death, as there will do in *Lorraine* after this old Duke's life; we should find them more formidable and troublesome even in our neighbourhood; as nourishment taken in by one part increases strength in all, if it be once digested. 'Tis true, if for want of heat or strength of nature, it be not digested into the very substance of the body, it will grow weaker rather than stronger by it: as we see in *Spain*, the spirit began to fail by the weakness of their Kings and Ministers. For this reason, and all those which formerly engaged us so firmly to bear up *France* and *Holland* against the house of *Austria*, I think it is our common interest to bear up *Spain* now against *France*; and the more, in respect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by reason of the Kings tender life, and the distraction like to ensue his death, if their affairs find no steady support from their neighbours.

If we were what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our interest were to enter singly into a defensive league with *Spain*, and might either preserve their peace, or else hope to make a short war, and with such advantages as might countervail what our trade will suffer, and the *Dutch* grow, during the time of our being in war and they in peace. My reason for making in that case the league single, is because we might thereby reap alone all the advantages which *Spain* would be able to give for their defence, which would be great,
as

as low as they are, not only in point of trade by their wools and logwood, but by great pensions in yearly quantities of salt from *Sardinia* and other parts, which is much beyond any *French* salts, and would be the same as money to his Majesty, considering what quantities his Kingdoms spend: and besides, I doubt not they would offer us constant payments of ready money; and if we could make war abroad at their charge, and without pressing too much the subject at home, or needing them at every turn; I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more safe and advantagious for us, than to be in action abroad, especially if it were in conjunction of three against one, and not as we were lately, one against three.

This we may be sure of, that the *Spaniards* will give more for our defensive league than for all others; will not much care for any others, so they may have ours, and in short, will give for it whatever they are able; but the question is, whether we are able to take so vigorous a council, and I doubt, not: therefore, the next would be to know, whether we are *so*, to enter into their defence jointly with *Sweden*, which would either awe the *French* into a continuance of the peace, or else without doubt make the party strong enough for the war: and in this case, we must be content to share with *Sweden* whatever *Spain* can any way give for the purchase of their defence; and where our gains are less, the consideration will be more, of what we may lose, or the *Dutch* gain in trade, if a war should break out and last: for there would be no other reflexions, since the *Swede* I believe would enter into the league upon such terms as *Spain* could make them: and the *Dutch* would ask nothing better, than to see us all in war, and themselves in peace, without danger of the war ending in the growth of the *French* power.

The third way, is entering into a defensive league with *Spain*, *Sweden*, and *Holland*; for in all cases I suppose

suppose, we might reckon upon the Emperor, as far as that would signify. This I think were certainly to be desired in what case soever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the ills in this are; first, the unlikelihood of *Holland's* engaging in it; for I could never since my first acquaintance here, find any disposition towards it; and then the incapacity of *Spain* to satisfy the pretensions of benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for *Holland* would resolve to have a share, if we had any; so that the particular advantage would grow only to *Sweden*, by certain subsidies or benefits in trade from *Spain*: and we and *Holland* should content ourselves with the certainty of preventing a war by so powerful a league.

This is all which occurs to me upon this subject, and which becomes me best, that is, to represent and not to advise. For matter of proposing to the Marquis, I suppose he will know as well as we, that the proposals ought to come from him, at least till he desires to know of us, what we demand upon a defensive league, which is certainly the desire of *Spain*, either with us singly, or in conjunction with the rest; and were the more to be wished, for the preventing the *Spaniards* from falling into a desperate council, of agreeing with *France*, and quitting *Flanders*, to them for advantage on the other side, and a good deal for revenge of their neighbours pressing so hard upon them, by a disadvantageous peace, and afterwards irresolution of maintaining that itself, by a defensive league.

If the King should think fit to endeavour the disposing of the *Dutch* to enter into it, (which for my part I think they are engaged in by the first, as I remember, or the second article of the peace at *Aix*, though they do not conceive so) I should make some trials, and give account of what I find; for I fear we are not growing fast enough into a posture of making these paces alone, at least by what I could observe or hear

during my short stay in *England*, which was but too much entertained with ill bodings and complaints: but, *quid tristes querimoniae si non supplicio culpa reciditur? quid leges sine moribus vanae proficiunt?* without great virtue and steadiness in the Government, and resolution of going through with whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby men may see, that the only way to rise is to deserve it; all tempering of factions, taking off persons, and soothing parties, is but patching up an ill house: I mean not virtue, in a peaking, formal *Presbyterian* sense, but that which the greatest nations of old so politicly favoured and renowned, which consisted in those qualities, that made men fit for the service of their Princes and countries, by strong and healthful dispositions both of bodies and minds. Your Lordship's pardon for this once, and you shall have no more such troubles as these from,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 2. N. S. 1668.

SINCE my last I have received your Lordship's of the 14th, and in one letter from Mr. *Williamson*, an account of what was resolved at the foreign committee, to whom your Lordship's only referred the determination of what manner the amendments of the marine treaty should be pursued in; and accordingly I have since fallen into the debate of that affair in all its particulars, with Monsieur *de Witt*: and the differences between us are not great, and some of his exceptions seem so reasonable, that I must be furnished with arguments to maintain the points against him, if they must be insisted on; for I confess I can find none of my own.

Upon

Upon the first he consents to the change of the form of certificates, and will accept of such as we shall draw up, so they run equal on both sides *mutatis mutandis*: but to that which the *East-India* Company say, of their desire that trade may rather be carried on without any certificate at all; he says, he does not see how that can be, or to what purpose all the articles are against counterband goods; since it is by the certificate, whereby it is known what the ship is, and what the goods are she carries, and thereby all farther trouble of search is avoided. He says, he should be content, and the advantage would be theirs, to have all trade free, and none to ask at sea what another ship was, whither it went, or what it carried; but since that cannot be, there is no way of avoiding disputes, besides that of certificates: and indeed I doubt, the Merchants in that considered not the main end of the whole regulation, which was to avoid quarrels between the nations; but only their own private interests, in saving the trouble and charge of certificates, which made them likewise desire it might be from the Magistrates of the ports, from whence the ships parted, and not from the Admiralty.

Upon the second, he consents to the proposal in the margin, with only the leaving out those two words [of *India*] so as the rule may be generally to all places, and not confined to the *Indies*; which I had nothing to say against, believing those words fell in, only by the matter coming from the *East-India* Company, without notice of any other traders.

Upon these two points I had given your Lordship the account formerly of my having at several discourses gained his consent: and I do not find that any thing he excepts at in them, is different from what we mean ourselves.

For the other points, which are wholly new, and additions to the treaty, they cost us a great deal more
debate,

debate, which I shall not trouble your Lordship with, but only the result at least, of the opinion he gave me leave to write to your Lordship as his, upon them; though the first, second, and fourth were all of more difficult digestion, and such as I doubt would have given some work to Commissioners in pursuance of the *Breda* treaty so much as to have touched: for the truth is, our trade in the *Indies* being so little, and theirs so much, all equalities of this kind are gains to us, and loss to them.

For the first of the four particulars not provided for in the marine treaty, he consents to the one half of the period ending with the word *Government*: but for the other, allowing liberty to pass any river or pass leading to any place of trade, although the other Company have a fort or castle upon the said river or pass; he says it cannot possibly be, nor would it ever be executed, though the *States* should consent to it; for in those passes, the very end of either Company's building a fort or castle was, to secure the trade of such a country to themselves; so as they would by this article lose all the benefit of the expence they had been at: that, if to such nations, there were any other way found, not under the reach of their cannon, that passage should be free: but under a fort built to the aforesaid ends, he did not believe any orders would compel those in it, either of our nations or theirs, to see the trade they had secured to themselves, drawn away to the other nation, by a free passage.

The second particular I got wholly agreed to, though with much difficulty, as importing, I suppose, more advantage to us than any of the rest, considering how many more nations the *Dutch* trade with than we, by virtue of such agreements.

The third was without difficulty, importing, as we both conceived, no more, than was before provided by the marine treaty, and more particularly.

For

For the fourth, he could not consent it should extend farther than to ships belonging to either Company, or to any nations or people subject to either Company, and consequently under protection of the said Company; for the making it run, in the words of our article, *To any nations with whom either Company shall trade, and not in enmity with the other Company*, would occasion only either Company's selling their passports to all the nations that would buy them, leaving it afterward to dispute, upon any accident should arrive, whether such nation were in enmity with the other Company or no; the natives maintaining the negative, and perhaps the Company the affirmative, and it may be upon pretence of some new injury, which had lately given the occasion of the enmity: and where such disputes should be determined, was difficult to find. Besides he argued from the common use of nations, that passports operated only towards those, who were subject to such who granted the passports, or else by alliance and accord between nations, to such as were one another's subjects and under their protection: but how it should extend to other nations because they were not in enmity with our ally, he could not see any reason, nor had heard any example. But on the other side, it was ever to be supposed, that there would be no need at all of passports from the one, to such as were not in enmity with the other: nations being to be esteemed as just in their actions, and not likely to disturb or seize another, without at least pretence of enmity, which would be a sort of piracy at sea, or robbery at land; but in case such a thing should happen, no other nation concerned themselves in it, unless it were offered to their subjects, and consequently to persons under their protection.

I thought his reasoning seemed good, and besides I imagined the thing was not of weight; for, where one Company found a nation, not in actual enmity with the other

other, and had a mind to protect their navigation, they might do it by receiving that nation into their protection, and then giving them passports as subjects to them. Where nations will not submit to such a subjection, they must protect themselves. And this was the result of our conference, which came to no sort of agreement on either side, since I neither had power to do it from his Majesty, nor he from the *States*: so that we can only represent on each side, what passed, and attend our orders upon them; and he in the mean time dispose the *States* to his opinion, when we meet and conclude formally upon them.

When I receive instructions, I suppose it will be necessary to know the manner as well as the matter we are to agree in; that is, whether a new marine treaty to be made, with these particulars to be digested into the body of it; or else those to be perfected in an instrument by themselves, as additions to the marine treaty. For the doing it with or without Commissioners I can say nothing, since so great authors are on both sides: but if both seem necessary, one to the substance, and the other to the form; I was thinking whether two or more might not be joined in commission with me, to treat and conclude it with Commissioners of theirs, and those to be acquainted before-hand with what was to be expected upon this matter. But I know not how our expectation of having the Commissioners meet at *London*, would be satisfied by their meeting at the *Hague*; nor how forms go in joining Commissioners to an Ambassador, for a particular business; and so I leave it.

I am, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 12. N. S. 1668.

THough I could not think it became me to interrupt your Grace's business or entertainment, by empty letters; and I know you have what share you please of the constant troubles my Lord *Arlington* receives upon the account of my negotiations here: yet having this inclosed sent me to convey to your Grace, I was in hopes a good letter may keep an ill one a little in countenance, and bear me out in taking this occasion of preserving myself in your Grace's favour and memory, which I esteem among my best possessions, and should be glad to find ways of continuing them, rather by serving than by troubling you. Whilst I can do nothing towards the first, I will do the less towards the other, and content myself to assure your Grace, in the language of a plain man, that none can wish you happier than I do in the course of your fortunes and honours, nor rejoice more in the presages I make of both, from those wise and generous dispositions I left you in, of employing those many great talents and advantages given you towards his Majesty's and the kingdom's true service and happiness. I am still of the mind, nothing is more necessary to both, than the continuance and encrease of that harmony which we used with so much reason to wish so well to, and which I think has at this time more operation than that of the spheres was thought to have, upon the good temper and order of the world. For, I believe the spring of all the motions or quiet we are like to see round about us, lies in that point and those councils which proceed from it.

I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble, which I should not have begun, but to end with my being,

My Lord,

Your Grace's most obedient

and most humble Servant.

To the Constable of Castile.

Al Condestable de Castilla.

Hague, Oct. 19.

My Lord, N. S. 1668.

HAVING passed so much time, and with so much satisfaction to myself, in his Majesty's service at *Brussels*; it is impossible for me to lose the concern I have ever had for the interest of that country, or to avoid rejoicing with your Excellency upon your succeeding in the government, wishing you all honour and satisfaction, as foreseeing many advantages to his Catholic Majesty in so prudent a choice. But, with the plainness that has been always natural to me, I must confess that it has not been at this time without some regret that I have lost the correspondence of a Governor of *Flanders*, with whom I had contracted so great a friendship, and had so entire a confidence; finding myself in such

De la Haya, Oct. 19.

Exmo. Senr. S. N. 1668.

Senor mio. Haviendo sido tanto tiempo y con tanto gusto a *Brussellas*, de la parte del Rey mi Sennor, no me es possible perder el encarecimiento que he siempre tenido por las cosas y intereses deste pays, ni dexar de dar a V. E. el parabien de su llegada a este gobierno desseandole en ello mucha satisfaccion y honra, como augurando a su Magestad Catolica mucho provecho de tan sabia eleccion. Pero con la llaneza que me ha sido siempre natural, es menester confessar, que me pesa mucho en este punto de haver perdido la correspondencia de un Governador de *Flandes*, con quien he tenido tan estrecha amistad, y entera confianza; hallandome aora en una conyuntura, y aviendo dispuesto los Estados de aqui de tal manera que me parece poder obrar algo, sino mucho

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por

a conjuncture (after having so disposed the *States of Holland*) as to be confident of having it in my power, to do something, if not something very considerable, for the common good and repose of *Christendom*, as well as for the interest and safety of the *Spanish* monarchy; if there were at present a governor of *Flanders* that had full powers joined with his own desires, and confidence between us to agree together in the concert of such a negotiation. I doubt it will not look prudent to enter farther into such reasoning with your Excellency, to whom I am so wholly unknown; though perhaps you may have heard at *Brussels* that I am not a man used to build castles in the air, no more than to engage myself unseasonably in affairs of this kind: but your Excellency may believe me, that at this time nothing is more absolutely necessary, nor that more concerns the interest of *Spain*, than that absolute powers should be sent either to your Excellency, or some other Minister, to treat and conclude with the three allies, and which is likewise as necessary for the pretended satisfaction of the *Swedes*, as for the advantage (in so much greater proportion) that it may be to *Spain* and the common interest of *Christendom*. The same that I say on one side to your

VOL. III. Excellency,

por el bien commun, y por el reposo de la *Christianidad*, como por la salud y interesses de la monarchia de *Espanna*, si estuviera aora Governador o Ministro en *Flandes* que tuviera poderes bastantes y tan bien la voluntad y consiença para concurrir conmigo en el concierto de tal negocio. No pareciera de hombre discreto de entrar mas adelante en estas razones con V. E. a quien soy tan desconocido; aunque bien pudiera aver entendido a *Brusselas* que no soy hombre para dezir disparates, ni para ponerme fuera de tiempo y occasion en cosas ajenas. Pero crea me V. E. que no sey que no puede aver otra en este tiempo que toca mas a *Espanna*, ny que la sea tan necessaria, que de embiâr sin perder punto o a V. E. o a otro Ministro poderes absolutos para tratar y concluyr con los tres *Alliades*, loque fuera menester, tan bien por la satisfaccion pretendida de los *Suedeses*, que por la utilidad que con ella se puede alcançar mas que proporcionado a la *Espanna*, y al bien commun de la *Christianidad*. Lo mismo que digo de una parte a V. E. vengo de desir de otra al Ministro de *Suecia*, a qui Residente porque bien hecho de ver, que con las ydas y bueltas en *Espanna* y en *Suecia* sobre estas materias, no se hara jamas sino perder el tiempo y las ocasiones, aunque el primero nunca se le vuelve a los hombres, y muy raramente las postreras. A lo menos muy cla-

Excellency, I come from saying on the other, to the Swedish Minister Resident here: for it is too plain to be seen, that with the length of the journeys, and returns from Spain and Sweden, nothing can be hoped for but the loss of time and occasions; the first of which never returns to mortal man, and very rarely the other: at least, it is certain that if we do not this winter make our advantage of the present posture of affairs for the common good, we are never again to hope for the same occasion.

I beg of your Excellency, that this advice may be only to yourself, or those in Spain who are most concerned in it. What is most necessary I have told your Excellency, is to hasten the powers, and that needs no consultation, the rest time will shew; and 'tis not necessary, the Spanish Ministers here should concern themselves in it till the powers come. I engage myself to dispose things so here, that whenever they arrive, your Excellency shall be able to make the advantage of them, for your Master and the countries you govern. Your Excellency will not look upon this letter as coming from an Ambassador, but from a man extremely desiring the public good, and that has been a little enlightened by having so much

ro esta, que si este invierno no nos aprovechamos de las presentes por el bien comun, nunca hemos de esperar las mismas por el venidero.

Supplico a V. E. que este aviso la sirva a solas, si no a los tan bien en Espanna qui son los mas interessados en ellos. Porque lo que es el necessario lo venga de desir en lo de hazer venir los poderes, en esto no se ha de consultar; por demas los tiempos lo diran, y no se avra de entremeterse a qui, en el entretanto Ministro Espannol antes que vengan los poderes, que yo me encargo de disponer las cosas a qui di manera que llegando los V. E. avra de aprovecharse d'ellos por el bien de su Rey, y de los paysses que gobierna. V. E. no ha de interpretar esto como viniendo de mano de Ambaxador, pero de un hombre muy aficionado al bien comun, y un poco esclarecido en las cosas corrientes, como aviendo tenido tanta parte en ellas; y me pardone averla entretenido en una lengua que y a
commienço

much part in what has been designed towards it: and I hope will pardon my having entertained you so long in a language that I begin now to forget, and had never learned well: but I had no mind what I have here said to your Excellency should pass thro' another hand.

Pray God preserve your Excellency, and give me the occasions of serving you.

comienço á olvidar, viendo le nunca bien aprendido; pero no he querido que V. E. en lo que la digo; avría de tercero.

Guardé Dios á V. E. muchos annos, y me de las ocasiones de servirla.

*I kiss your Excellency's hand,
&c.*

B. L. M. D. V. E.
Su mayor Servidor.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Nov. 2. N. S. 1668.

I Have had the honour of your Lordship's of the 13th past some days by me, and deferred the acknowledgment of it till this post, that I might make it at a little more leisure. I must first beg so much favour from your Lordship, (for I shall esteem it a kindness to me) that you will never constrain yourself to write to me in pain or trouble; but upon all such occasions use either any other hand, or any other's correspondence with me, to send me your commands: and in the next place I shall desire your Lordship's belief, that I never took any thing ill in the least, from any hand, that I knew meant me well; and am very well pleased to hear of my faults from my friends, as I hope they will ever be to receive my just excuses, and others I shall never desire to trouble them with. I know your Lordship is satisfied with what I did in shewing that letter, having given you the advice of

it at the same time I promised it; and I shall make use of the prudent intimation you please to give me upon that particular.

Monsieur *de Witt* has several times spoke to me since about the *pavilion*, applauding your Lordship's resolution, or at least inclination, to bring it to some certainty; and desired me to offer to your Lordship as most advantagious to a good issue in it, that the expedients he proposed, you would first mention as your own; because, whatever is offered from the contrary party, is commonly either suspected, or despised, even for its being *so*. I find, a good end of this matter is the point he has much at heart, believing no quarrel could ever happen between the nations, if that occasion were once out of the way. He says, he has never yet spoken to any man about the offers and expedients he proposed, and knows, they will be stomached by many here; but he will put all the strength he has upon it to make them pass, or any thing else, that is at all reasonable in the case, and doubts not to succeed. I suppose whatever we have by accord with them, will not be only so much of a gained, instead of a disputed right; but will engage them to further our pretence of so much with our neighbours, and to take part in our quarrel, if any shall be raised by any of them with us, upon that point: and if so, we should have something very substantial for that which methinks is very airy now, and which serves only for an occasion of wars, at a time we have no mind to enter into any; and, I doubt, with some reason: for if we had a conquering genius at this time among us, and force to second it, nothing could be so useful to us as this pretence: but every pilot that would be safe and well, must carry sail as the weather is abroad, and as the sides of his ship are strong or weak to resist it.

I am much pleased to find I have the honour of agreeing with your Lordship in all points that fall into consideration,

consideration, as well as this, as that about envoys, and about the benefits of a quadruple league ; concerning which I writ my opinion freely in one to my Lord *Arlington* by the last post, being the only thing which can crown the great work his Majesty has undertaken, of settling the peace of *Chriftendom*, and giving a stop to the *French* career, which about ten months since was in a fair way to over-run us all, one after another ; and hangs still like a cloud over all their neighbours heads, leaving every one in doubt when and where it will fall. And till that be compassed, I shall hardly be secure of *Spain's* not trinkling at one time or other with *France*, for the remainder of *Flanders*, at least upon such a revolution, as would arrive at that King's death, if not before : nor of the *French* parties getting ground enough again into *Sweden* at one time or other, to turn the bias of that Crown towards the *French* interests, by the offers of money, which can best be made them on that side : whereas by such a league, *Spain* would find their account in keeping *Flanders*, and not fear any war which the *French* pretensions there might engage them in : *Sweden* would find theirs by some certain subsidies from *Spain*, even in times of peace, and by assurance from them and us, of greater in case of a war : *Holland* would be broken off, from all return into any new measures with *France*, and be forced to follow the common interests and councils of the alliance : *Spain* and *Sweden* would be both hindered from entering into any separate concert or treaty without us and *Holland* ; the *Emperor*, and Princes of the *Empire*, and Duke of *Lorrain*, would be glad to be admitted into such an alliance : and his Majesty would remain head and director of a league which would have the glory of preserving the peace of *Chriftendom*, and checking and bounding the *French* greatness, at a time when no other Prince durst look it in the face. And in case of a war breaking out from *France*, in
spight

spight of all these defences; I suppose, considering the strength of the alliance, and the temper of our people at home, bent wholly upon these councils, his Majesty would have rather reason to desire, than to apprehend it.

I conceive the way of effecting such a league must be, to make a draught of it with Monsieur *de Witt* here, if he can be finally disposed to it: and that with all the secrecy in the world, and to proceed in it, as near as is possible, with all the fairness and equality, in the consideration and comprehension of each party's interests, which is the only way to facilitate such negotiations; and whenever we and Monsieur *de Witt* are agreed in it, then for his Majesty to take upon him the proposing it to *Spain*, and trying what private advantages may be gained from that Crown, in consideration of his both proposing and effecting a matter so much to their advantage.

All that seems to be against such a council, is his Majesty's present want of treasure, which renders him in a condition very unfit to enter into any action abroad, by provoking *France*.

As to that: First, the end of this council is peace, and not war; and seems indeed the only way to secure it, by letting *France* see, they cannot find their account in a war; for, till they do that, they will never leave the designs of it. Then, instead of provoking *France*, I should think this would make them much warmer in their offers and applications towards us; when they see, that without gaining us, they are absolutely bound to the peace: for, to say the truth, our falling at any time into the *French* interests, is the ready way to a war abroad, wherein it may be we shall not have any present share, but shall pay for our present quiet with dear interest, of the utmost danger, after two or three years time.

Besides,

Besides, though our condition is ill towards the support of a war, it is the most imprudent thing we can do perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any commerce abroad; whereas, looking our just debts, both to our neighbours and our selves, boldly in the face, will, as it does sometimes with a merchant, hold up our credit so high, that with good future management and the strength of that, we may help to re-establish our estate; but if not, nothing can keep us up so much, as being closely linked with several other traders of better stock, who will by that means become engaged not to let us sink. And in case of action, to succeed such a quadruple alliance, and his Majesty's necessities keeping him from furnishing his part towards the support of it: it is not to be imagined that *Spain* and *Holland* would not do their utmost towards his supply rather than lose his assistance, and leave him under the temptation of falling into any new measures with *France*.

After all this, I think, let his Majesty make what paces he pleases, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a change in that with the present conjunctures) I know nothing will be so necessary, with the foresight either of peace or war, as for his Majesty not to be found the next spring without any money in his treasury, or credit to raise it speedily and easily, without relying wholly upon his Parliament's supplies, by any new burdens upon the body of the people; for that can hardly be done without long and perhaps cross debates of the *House*, which lessen his Majesty's credit with his neighbours whenever they happen, more than the supplies granted can raise it; and besides, after so great payments as the Kingdom has continued, ever since his Majesty's restoration, especially during the last three years, though joined with the great diminution of money and trade during the war; I question whether any thing considerable can be raised.

raised in general upon the people, without some reasonable occasions of aversion and complaints.

But nothing, they say, is more the part of a weak understanding, and unfit for business, than to propose and enlarge upon inconveniencies, without so much as offering remedies : and therefore I shall say, that first, methinks, two proposals which have been already a-foot, are very considerable towards this end ; as the selling of small inconsiderable quit-rents, where the sum is hardly worth the charge of raising, and yet by the reason of the trouble to the tenant by them, they will yield five or six, if not ten years purchase more than greater rents : if this council be tied up to these circumstances, I think it very advantagious, and as pre-judicial, if it be suffered to go beyond them.

Secondly, the selling of the chimney-money would, I suppose, be easily granted by the Parliament ; would take off the tax, of all others most distasteful to the subjects, and if sold at pretty easy and moderate rates, would be taken kindly of the people, purchased readily, and yield a very great sum ; and the most equally raised that any could be, sparing no man's part, and holding an equal proportion with every man's estate : only this circumstance should be in it to make it easy, that not only every man should have the offer and pre-emption of his own ; but if, upon refusal it should be sold to another hand, yet it shall be free for the owner to buy it of him at any time within a certain space, as of two or three years ; and the present purchaser to be content with the profit he shall have made in the mean time, which will prove a great interest for his capital.

Thirdly, a reducing of the interest which the King pays from ten to eight in the hundred, with which the bankers may very well be contented, and must be, I suppose, if the King pleases, and finds a course to make them see their security cannot fail them : for

two in the hundred gain is, of all reason, enough for them, where the security they receive is as good as what they give, as it is in this case: for the King's security to the banker, is in effect the banker's security to his private creditors; and whenever one fails, the other must. Now the bankers pay but six in the hundred at most for in-land money, and less for some: and I have reason to doubt, a very great trade is driven with them from *Holland* by *Dutch* merchants, who turn their money through their hands, encouraged by the great interest they gain there in lieu of so small here, that the *States* have lately refused to take the value of twenty thousand pounds *Sterling* of the Duke of *Lunenburg's* money at two and a half *per cent*, and three is the utmost that any man makes. And if the King by granting good security, punctual payments, and the reputation of good order in his revenue, were gotten into credit, I do not see why he might not upon occasion take up what he pleased at six *per cent*. as well as the *States* do here at two and a half.

Fourthly, to enable the King upon any occasion to give better security, I know nothing would do so much, as if the Parliament could be disposed to settle the customs upon him for one year after his death, as they are already for his life; but that being an uncertain term, money will not be readily, or without exaction of interest, lent upon that which may fail next day: and yet I conceive it to be the largest branch of the revenue, and in all other points the most certain.

Fifthly, if any thing were set on foot in Parliament, towards an act of resumption of grants of crown-lands, since a certain time; use might at least be made of it towards drawing such grantees to a voluntary composition, of holding their grants at the rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real value to the Crown, in consideration of having such grants confirmed by act of Parliament, or the Kings engagement to consent to no-

thing to their prejudice, after their consent to such a rent and tenure.

Sixthly, a view may be made at least of what has been gained by any grants from his Majesty, above what were really his Majesty's intentions to grant: as where the King intended to give five hundred pounds a year, and perhaps seven or eight, or a thousand pounds is made of it: and the same of sums of money out of certain benefits granted, towards the raising them; and what is found to be beyond the intention of the King's grant, to be repaid.

Many smaller particulars might perhaps be thought of; all which, with what has been mentioned, will be made valuable by a good order in the management, and a stanch hand in grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind-hand now. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Mr. * Mountague.

My Lord,

Hague, Jan. 2. N. S. 1669.

IT is an ill sign of the dulness of this place, that I must have recourse to the compliments of the season for the occasion of a letter; and that I can find very little to say from hence, besides wishing your Lordship, according to our good old style, a merry Christmas. The Spaniards have not yet had so much good nature as to make ours here the merrier, with their two hundred thousand crowns: I doubt it has some enchantment or other upon it; and is not to be delivered but in some fatal hour, or by some charmed knight. All is here frozen up; and the Bishop of Munster may march

* Late Duke of Mountague.

march if he pleases; but if he do, as has been so much talked, will blow his fingers, unless he receives very great influences from your warmer climate: for the good pay of the *States* is in so much credit among their neighbours, that I believe they will not want what forces they shall have occasion for, besides what they have a-foot.

I should be very glad to hear what becomes of my Lord and Lady of *Northumberland*, and how long they intend their pilgrimage, supposing your Lordship keeps some correspondence with them, of which I am out of the way; but very much in that of being,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

obedient humble servant.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague Jan. 18. N. S. 1669.

THE Baron *d'Isola* arrived here yesterday; I have this afternoon had some discourses with him upon the subject of his journey, which he professes to be a desire of advancing the treaty of guaranty, as a thing his Master has more interest in than *Spain* itself, which will be better able to subsist after the loss of *Flanders*, than the Empire can. I find he came with hopes of effecting much by his eloquence and great parts, and by making others see more of their own interests, then they were willing to do. And so the two themes wherein he came provided, were to make it evident that *France* would open the war again this spring, and within six weeks attack either *Burgundy* or *Luxenburg*; and on the other side, that the councils of *Spain*, as they are now composed, if they saw not a solid

solid and firm assistance from their neighbours, would fall into the easiest way of ending that matter, by giving up *Flanders* upon the best terms they could. That they were as a sick man, that would not or could not help themselves, and were so to be dealt with by those that were so deeply concerned in their loss, as these *States* in particular seem to be: and that after the disarming of the Duke of *Lorrain*, which *France* had now resolved, and the seizing of *Burgundy*, which would be their next work; it would be impossible to maintain a war in what remains of *Flanders*, when they could do it no longer by diversion, after these two inlets into *France* stopped up. From this we fell into the story of the *Swedish* subsidies, and the hardships put upon *Spain* in that business; all which I suppose your Lordship has heard a dozen times already, and are obvious enough, and therefore I shall not repeat them, not remembering any thing new in that discourse: but it ended with *Spain's* having less reason to pay for that peace than *France*; since the guaranty offered would be equal to both, and the gain of the war had been all on the *French* side. That for his part, he could trust little in any treaty, where the obligations were not reciprocal; and when the guaranty was given, he did not know whether these *States* would not be still apt to sacrifice any new conquests *France* should make, to any unreasonable peace, provided the danger grew not nearer them: and he had the more reason to believe it, by a resolution he was assured of, among the *States* of *Holland*, to treat with *France* about diverting their attempts upon *Flanders* in case of the King of *Spain's* death, and leaving all the rest of that monarchy open to his pretensions.

This was the substance of his first discourse: upon which I told him, that the friendliest office I could do him at his arrival, was to tell him, what men and what resolutions he would find here, to the end he might

might not lose his paces by their being at first ill directed. That, for their own interest in the preservation of *Flanders*, they thought, they understood it as well as any other of their neighbours, and needed no new lights in that prospect, nor new motions, to engage in its defence, if they might hope to succeed : that this depended upon *Spain's* good conduct and provisions in *Flanders*, and upon their satisfying *Sweden*. That without *Sweden's* engagement, *Holland* could do nothing considerable in their defence, lying open to the *French* on one side, and the Bishop of *Munster* on the other ; and without *Holland*, he might assure himself, the King would never interest himself in their quarrel, but seek his measures some way else : so that the strength of their whole assistance depended upon the engaging of *Sweden*, and that upon payment of the subsidies. That I would tell him freely, I thought *Holland* might be induced to give a general guaranty, according to the article of the treaty at *Aix*. That, if his Majesty and *Sweden* would be induced to join with them in it, I thought it was the cheapest bargain that ever any Crown had made. That I believed a guaranty, without reciprocal engagements, more to their advantage, and less to ours, than a defensive league, which they so much desired : but yet the conjuncture was such, and the respects that entered into it, as I could assure him he would fail in the pursuit of the last ; and I believed, might succeed, if he would content himself with the other. That, if nothing else were in the way, there was not time left for it, and therefore I would advise him, to lose none about it. That, for what should happen after the King of *Spain's* death, I was confident, neither the King nor the *States* would enter into it ; but leave those considerations to the season, in which they should arise. That if *Spain* was resolved to destroy themselves, that was a thing beyond all our prevention or remedy, and so only to be bemoaned, and no more to be thought on :
if

if they would be preserved, they knew the price, which is, the *Swedish* subsidies, and could best tell whether it were worth it or no.

This I thought was the best way of dealing with a person that had more wit a great deal than I, and so would be sure to have the better in argument: and besides, I thought it fittest for a business, which it is necessary to bring to some short issue: and the Baron seemed not to resent it ill, and said, *well, if you are certain the Dutch will not be brought to a league with us, we must think of what we can have, and not what we cannot*: and all that remained to be done, was to draw up the form of a guaranty, and send it to the Constable: and let him know, that upon satisfaction of the *Swedish* subsidies, that should be ready for him, and without it we had no more to say. I told him I thought he was in the right way, and hoped he would succeed in it, and assured him of our endeavours to draw *Sweden* to the same measures, and persuade them, if need were, to some little ease in the terms of payment. He asked me, in case the subsidies were not paid, and the guaranty given, and *France* should next *March* attack *Burgundy* or *Luxenburg*, what I thought we would do? I told him, I was ever to think, that the King and his allies, would do upon all occasions, what they had engaged. He would have had me join with him, in drawing up an instrument of guaranty. But I, that had a mind to excuse myself, at least, till I received my instruction, advised him to propose it to *Monsieur de Witt*, with whom he had an hour assigned upon our parting. And so our first conference ended.

I am, my Lord, your, &c
To

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord, Hague, Apr. 24. N. S. 1669.

UPON a late conversation with Monsieur de Witt, though I had some reason to be surprised, yet I think I had none to take any notice of it; but I am very sure I can have no reason for doing it to any other person, but to your Lordship, of whose friendship I have had so many testimonies, and with whom I have lived in so much confidence ever since our first acquaintance. The present subject is so delicate, that I can hardly tell how to touch it myself, or to trust it in any other hands but your Lordship's, who will better judge whether any use may be made of it, and I am sure will make no ill one; nor do I expect there can be other, than to gain some light in a matter wherein I am wholly ignorant, and perhaps your Lordship may not have been curious enough to observe so near; and which it is yet very necessary for us both, to be as well informed as we can.

Monsieur de Witt came to me, as he said, upon a particular visit; and as a *Friend*, not a *Minister*: but the occasion of it at present he would confess, was, to acquaint me with a conversation he had lately had with Monsieur Puffendorff, a *Swedish* agent, who passed this way from *Paris* to his own country: that he had been some time at the *French* Court since our measures taken by the *triple alliance*, and the negotiations set on foot with the *Spaniards* in consequence of them. That the Ministers in *France* had taken much pains to persuade him, that *Sweden* would find their account very ill in pursuing those measures: that *Spain* would fail them, in what was pretended from them; and that *Holland* alone would not be able to support them, or the measures they had rashly taken: and to make this good, the Ministers there had at length told him (but as a

secret

secret only for the service and information of the Court of *Sweden*) that *England* would certainly fail them; and was already changed in the course of all those councils they had taken with *Holland* and *Sweden*, though they did not think fit to let any thing of it appear: and the secret was yet in very few hands, either in the *French* or the *English* Court. That when this agent seemed incredulous of all this story, and to suspect that it was artificial, and only intended to give an umbrage or false light to the Court of *Sweden*, and thereby help them to make the first false step; Monsieur *Turenne* at last shewed him a letter from Monsieur *Colbert* their Ambassador, wherein he gave an account of the happy successes he had met with, in his negotiations at our Court, of the good dispositions there, and especially those of some of our chief Ministers; upon which he added these words, * *Et je leur ay enfin fait sentir toute l'étendue de la libéralité de sa Majesté.*

Here Monsieur *de Witt* stopped as if he had no more to say, and with a very equal countenance; though I found he had observed mine more narrowly, all the while he was talking, as well as when he ended. For my part, though I thought the story and the circumstances very odd, and knew not what to make of it; yet I believe I looked innocent, and thereby as unconcerned as he did. I told him I had reason to be surprised at what he had said, but did not know whether we had either of us any, to put much weight, or draw any great consequence from all this story: that there might be artifice in it, on several hands; and some of those it had passed through might deceive, and others be deceived; that there might be mistake in mens apprehensions of what passed in talk, and the relations too: that Monsieur *Colbert* might say a great deal to value his services to his Court, and more than he
 * *And I have at last made them sensible of the whole extent of his Majesty's liberality.*

he thought himself: that the *Swedish* agent might be made partial in *France* to their interests, and with his Crown still in them, as most beneficial to the Ministers there that were so engaged: that it was at least artificial in the *French* Court, to employ Monsieur *Turenne* to give this notice to the *Swedish* agent, and shew him Monsieur *Colbert's* letter, which had been more proper for a Secretary of State; but that it was likely Monsieur *Turenne's* shewing it and believing it, would have more credit and more effect in the Court of *Sweden*. That farther than this I had nothing to say upon it, besides protesting to him upon my honour and truth, that I knew nothing of it; nor had I reason, by any thing I heard from *England*, to suspect any more than I knew. That I had told him, upon the negotiation of our last alliance and his suspicions of our inconstancy in *England*, what I truly thought of the dispositions and intentions both of his Majesty and his Ministers: that I knew, and all men confessed, their interests were so deep in it, as well as the humour of the whole kingdom, that it was hard to think I could be deceived. That however, I could answer for no man but myself, and that I would; that if ever these measures were broken, it should not be by me; nor would I ever have any part in destroying, what I had the honour of building, so much of the safety, as I conceived, of both our nations, and the rest of *Christendom*; and with so much glory and applause to his Majesty's councils upon that occasion. That I was still of the same mind, and had no more to say.

Monsieur *de Witt* smiled, and said, what he had told me was but as a friend and in conversation; and left me to make what use I pleased of it, or none if I thought fit, without drawing it into farther consequence; that he had been very suspicious when he first entered into the ministry, but had been so often deceived by it, that he had cured himself of that quality. That he knew very well it had been said among some

foreign Ministers here some months since, * *Qu'il faut avouer qu'il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand ministere du monde en Angleterre*; as if they believed some change had befallen our councils before the last year ended. That for his part, who went to the substantial as near as he could, and the plainest way; he had made but one reflexion, and kept that as much as he could to himself: which was, that after my embassy hither had been resolved in *England*, to support and improve the ends of our last alliances, and to engage the Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as *Spain*, in the support of them; he could not but wonder to find me engaged of late by my orders from Court so warmly in a *chicane* about such a trifle as that of *Surinam*; and in so many eager disputes about the pretensions of our *East-India* Company, which were fitter for Merchants than for Ministers: and looked as if we had them more at heart, than the pursuit of those public interests, that were thought so necessary for *Christendom* at my first coming over. But after all, for his part he would go on constantly upon the foot of our last alliance, as the best ground of our common safety; and believed the *States* would do so too, till his Majesty or his Ministers should let them plainly see, he had changed his measures. And with this, rising up, he seemed not to expect any answer, but to go away in very good humour: and I was not very desirous to draw our discourse into more length, and so it ended.

It is time this letter should do so too, which I desire your Lordship will burn when you have read it; and to forget it; if you find no occasion to think farther of it; and then I shall endeavour to do so too. I am sure it should never have begun, if it were not to end with the

* *That it must be confessed, there has been for 9 months the greatest ministry in the world in England.*

the professions of that truth and passion wherewith I am,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble servant.

To my Lord Cavendish.

My Lord,

Hague, July 18. N. S. 1669.

THough I had much rather make your Lordship my compliments upon some better fortunes, and upon your health, rather than your dangers; yet I could not omit doing it at this time, upon so honourable a part as all men allow you to have had in your late adventure at *Paris*; which I do not only as a private person and servant of your Lordship's, who wishes you all encrease of honour that may not be bought too dear; but withal as a public Minister, who ought ever to consider above all things the honour of our nation; and knows, that the complexion of it in times of peace is very much either mended or spoiled in the eyes of strangers, by the actions and carriage of particular persons abroad. I can assure your Lordship, all that can be said to your advantage upon this occasion, is the common discourse here; and not disputed by the *French* themselves; who say, you have been as generous in excusing your enemies as brave in defending yourself: the *Dutch* will have it, that you have been the first in excess; and say, that such a thing, as seven or eight falling upon one, would never have been done in any other place but *France*, nor suffered neither by the rest of the company. However, I am of opinion, if excess may be allowed in any part, it is in that; and therefore

fore rejoice with you in the honour of both, and with myself in that of my being,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most obedient humble servant,

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, July 1669.

I am to acknowledge your Lordship's of July the ninth, and have but too much reason to agree with you in despairing to see this matter of the marine article to be brought to any fair conclusion, about which I writ at large by last post to Sir John Trevor; and will tell your Lordship more in private, that I very much fear our *East-India* Merchants have some farther meaning in it, than yet we understand, and than they desire we should. For having had this whole business run through my head with more thought and application, than ever any other did before; I could not but observe many several inequalities in their proceedings, and make some reflexions upon them.

As first, that it began immediately upon the finishing our alliances with the *Dutch*; in which none could detract in the least from the glory abroad, and popular applause at home, of the King's councils but by declaiming against this marine treaty, though at first it was only upon the inequality of the passports: when that point was easily accorded by Monsieur *de Witt*; our Merchants added another, about the definition of a *besieged place*, which was all their exceptions against the treaty itself could amount to: but when there were some hopes given by Monsieur *de Witt* in his letters to me, that this likewise might be surmounted; they added several other articles, untouched in the marine treaty: and when they saw all were like to be gained here,

here, but that one of a free trade with people not in subjection, and of passing forts (which Sir George Downing had found here was an invincible point) they then declared, that without this, all the rest were worth nothing: and upon this said, they have left our treaty a-ground, now for about eight months past. When we begun first to struggle out of it, they said, they only aimed at preventing some innovations, which had been of late years practised by the *Dutch*, against the ancient usages in those parts, and many others of the same kind, which they had reason to fear: whereupon the *Dutch* desired the particular instances of what they either had felt, or thought they had occasion to fear: that so they might redress us in particular, and understand us in general: our Merchants instanced in *Cochin* and *Cananor*, and I think one other place, which Monsieur de Witt said, was not at all to the case, but to another, provided for, by the defining of a *besieged place*: so that I was forced by them here, to press still for instances by several letters, till the Merchants at last sent a long angry paper, with very many recapitulations of things past, and which the *Dutch* said, had been debated and agreed in former treaties; and therefore still desired to know, which of the particulars named, we thought applicable to the present question. Upon which I received answer, that the practice of the *Dutch*, against which they desired to provide, was but beginning; that they could not, or that it was to no purpose to give particular instances, their apprehensions being general, of what the *Dutch* intended to impose upon us: and that, in short, what we desired, was for prevention rather than remedy; which, they said, made it much harder in the *Dutch* to deny us.

After this Monsieur de Witt and I concerted an article between us, to propose to our principals on either side, and which I confess I thought comprehended our meaning, as I understood it by the letters I received from

from your Lordship, and the King's other Ministers; which though it was immediately refused at *Amsterdam*, as liable to the interpretations they so much feared, yet was likewise rejected by our Merchants too, and another sent over, yet stronger than the first, in those parts wherein the *Dutch* were most sensible; though your Lordship seemed to think, the article I had transmitted, would reach our aim, till you proposed it to them.

Upon the new debates we engaged in, arrives the news of what we had suffered at *Macassar*; which our Merchants made to be a formidable instance in the business depending, and of far more consequence than all they apprehended by *Dutch* forts and passes; and therefore immediately presented the King with their demand of restitution, together with some other particulars which we were fain to disown immediately, as against an express article of the treaty at *Breda*: and I had the blame of proposing all their demands to the *Dutch*, though the paper of them was sent to me without any distinction.

So soon as the point of *Macassar* was yielded us, which I thought would prove the most difficult of any, as of most importance, and was, I am sure, for a great while the most contested; and after the project of a general article was gained from the *Dutch* (against all their former resolutions) which was grounded upon these two points, that we desire no innovations, and will make no particular instances or complaints, in which they have ever offered us redress: our Merchants seeing the matter draw near a fair issue, now seem resolved to end all with these two answers: that their restitution to *Macassar* (as Sir *John Trevor* writes) will be too dear bought, by such an article as shall confirm upon us all the injuries we have complained of by *forts*, and *passes*, and *treaties* too; whereas the article as it is proposed by the *Dutch* (however defective) does not extend to any treaties to come, but only to the past;

nor do the *Dutch* desire to sell us *Macassar* at the price of any such article ; but had much rather restore it to us upon concluding the treaty, without any such article at all : nor do I know yet of the injuries in particular we have already complained of, either by forts, passes, or trearies, besides this of *Macassar* ; but contrary have always been told, what we desired was rather for prevention than remedy. But next they say (as your Lordship tells me) they had rather be left as they are, with their pretensions fair and intire, than have them blasted for ever with a bad conclusion : whereas no conclusion they now make, upon what we have gained, and the redress of what they complained of in the marine treaty, (though without this contested article) but will leave them and their pretensions in the same condition they were before : the same liberty still remaining upon the last article of the marine treaty, to appoint Commissioners, and alter or add any thing, when both parties shall agree ; and will be but like taking so much by advance, upon account of a greater debt. So that I am apt to conclude, from all these observations, that they who influence our Merchants in this prosecution, either have no meaning this treaty should end fairly, and so they put it obstinately upon that single point, and in that form which they know will never be granted ; or else they aim at gaining an occasion of raising new disputes with the *Dutch*, whenever they find a conjuncture for it ; there seeming some reason for the *Dutch* opinion, that agreeing upon an article as ours propose it, we may fall into new contests upon the extent and interpretation of it whenever we please. If this last end be in the bottom of this business, and it be taken up or countenanced by his Majesty or his Ministers, upon reason of State, and we make our provisions, and take all our measures accordingly ; for ought I know it is a wise, and may prove an honourable council in time, at least
if

if the present state of affairs in *Cbristendom* should change by any sudden or unexpected revolution. But if our Merchants, or those who influence them in this matter, mean no such thing as a conclusion of the treaty; but only by the depending of such disputes to leave an unkindness and weakness in our alliance, which may in time shake the foundations of it, and make way for new measures on one side or other, which will in time prove destructive to both; I cannot but interpret this as the effect of their distaste or envy at the King's present ministry, and the course of his councils, which have not gained greater honour abroad, nor perhaps safety and good will at home, by any thing, than by our late alliances so renowned here, and thereby the stop we have given to the progress of the *French* greatness. And therefore it must come from the influence of some, who would be glad to see not only our alliance shaken or changed abroad, but our ministry at home too; which I shall be sorry to see, till the King can find better hands for himself and the kingdom to place it in: and whenever that happens, as much as I am your Lordship's servant, I shall be very well contented, and so I dare say will you too. If your Lordship should imagine any particular envy or peek at me or my employment here, may have contributed to the difficulties which have succeeded in this business; and that our Merchants or those that influence them, believe it would thrive better in any other hand; I will beg of you not to be swayed by considerations of kindness to me in a matter of public concernment; nor to fear, that whenever this employment falls, you shall be troubled with me at home, as great Ministers use to be with men out of office: for while the King's business goes well, it is not two straws matter whether such a body as I have any share in it or no.

And

And there is an end of all the reflexions I have had upon the most troublesome and untoward business that, I thank God, I ever had in my life, or, I hope, shall ever have again: and perhaps I am mistaken in them all. However, if your Lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not to be troubled in haste with any more of it from,

My Lord,

yours, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 7. N. S. 1669.

I was very glad to find your Lordship, in your last, upon your journey into the country, because I very much doubt whether the exercise or diversions you usually allow yourself, are what your health requires, and what your cares and troubles deserve. I am sure, in the prospect I have of them, I am so far from envying them with all their gay circumstances, that I think your Lordship has a very hard bargain of them altogether; unless it be one day made up to you by the glory and satisfaction of some great success in the pursuit you intend of his Majesty's and the kingdom's honour, safety and happiness; which I doubt will need some stronger councils than men seem at present disposed to: but this is none of my business.

I cannot give your Lordship any account of what you say is made a great matter of by somebody to a private hand, about the difficulties intended by *Spain* in the two last *Swedish* payments, with design of making new demands: I am only in pain at present to see the first payment finished, which is not yet arrived, but expected by the first courier. When that is done, and

the guaranty delivered by *Sweden*, as well as us and *Holland*, I shall be in no great fear besides that of the *Spanish* King's death, or of *Spain* falling into some agreement or other with *France* for the exchange of *Flanders*, by seeing so great a war still entailed upon it, and their neighbours unwilling to share so far in their dangers, as perhaps it were our and the *Dutch* interest to do. I am sure in the present posture of that monarchy, if I were of their council, I should be of advice to do it whenever *France* would be content upon it, to quit all pretence to the rest of the *Spanish* dominions: and perhaps it were wise for *France* to get *Flanders* by that or any other quiet condition: for within two years after he were well possessed of that little spot of ground, I doubt no Prince or *State* in *Christendom*, would pretend to dispute any more with him then, than the *Spaniard* does now. But these are events to be considered by men in greater spheres than I am, and perhaps deserve to be a little more thought on than they are.

I have received and returned a visit with the *French* Ambassador; so that we are upon as good terms as can be. My Lord *Culpepper* passed this way last week; and upon that occasion I cannot but desire your Lordship to let me know more particularly from you, how I am to treat any *English* Lord as to the *hand* and *door* in my own house: for though the *French* example is given me, as to all public Ministers, yet there is nothing specified as to other persons; and if I am to follow it in this and other particulars, I desire to have something from his Majesty's positive commands to bear me out, as the *French* Ambassadors have, and as methinks the case deserves: since I am told, the innovation began in Monsieur *Cominges's* time in *England*, and that before the orders he received in it, he gave the hand to all Gentlemen of quality in *England*, and to all persons of great quality or families, though of his own nation: and that my Lord *St. Al-*

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bans ever gave it to all *English* Lords while he was Ambassador at *Paris*: though it seems my Lord *Holles* changed it upon the *French* Ambassador's doing so in *England*.

I know not what my father said to your Lordship concerning the trifle you mention in the end of your letter: and I am sure you might very well have spared yourself the trouble of taking notice of it; as I may do of giving your Lordship any farther assurances of what will never fail you; which is the hearty passion and truth wherewith I am and ever shall be,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To Sir Charles Wolsely.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 10. N. S. 1669.

I Received some time since the favour of a letter from you of *May* 9th; but hearing by your son that you had soon after left the town; and finding how ill fortune one of mine had met with in lying five or six months before it came to your hands: I omitted the acknowledging yours till I might presume on finding you sooner by my father's conveyance, to whose care I have committed this, upon information of his journey by your house into *Irlande*. Were it not for acquitting my debt, and assuring you of your son's health and welcome here, while it may be any ease to you or improvement to him; I should have little to bear me out in giving you this trouble: for the return of your compliments would but multiply them between us: and that is a sort of exercise in which I am soon out of breath, as having but a small stock of those more refined imaginations, which are required to make up any great abilities in that kind. Therefore I shall end an empty ill letter as soon

soon as I can; but not without the professions of my being,

S I R,

Your most humble servant,

To the Spanish Ambassador.

A l'Ambassadeur
d'Espagne.

Hague, Aug.

My Lord, 13. N. S. 1669.

I Was in hopes the affair now under debate could have met with no reply to what I writ yesterday to your Excellency: but having observed the contrary by yours of this evening; I am obliged to say, that I thought, upon our last conference, I had left your Excellency entirely persuaded, that the Constable was in the wrong to raise a difficulty about the first payment upon the concert proposed; because there was no mention of it in the act signed by your Excellency. I shall say farther, that you have reason at present, if in that act you shall find (either expressed or implied) these words of the guaranty, *Y los instrumentos necessarios dependientes de ella*. If these words are not there, the party contracting cannot bring them in by any interpretation of his own, without consent of the other party, or sentence of some arbitrator: besides, that this of the concert does not absolutely or of necessity import any thing to the security

De la Haye, le 13

Monfieur, Aout, S. N. 1669.

J'Avois esperé que l'affaire dont il s'agit à present ne trouveroit plus d'obstacles, & qu'il n'y auroit point de replique à ce que j'écrivis hier à V. E. Mais comme j'ay vû le contraire par votre lettre écrite ce soir même, je me crois obligé de dire, qu'il m'avoit paru que le fruit de notre dernière conference, avoit été de laisser V. E. pleinement persuadée, que le Connétable de Castille avoit tort de susciter une difficulté touchant le premier payement sur le concert proposé, puisqu'il n'en est point fait mention dans l'acte signé par V. E. J'ajouteray à cela, que vous auriex aujourd'hui raison, si dans cet acte vous trouviez ou exprimés ou sousentendus les mots de *guarantie*, *Y los instrumentos necessarios dependientes de ella*. Si pareils mots n'y sont pas, un des partis contractans ne peut pas les y faire entrer par une interpretation de sa façon, à moins que le consentement de l'autre parti intervienne, ou que de part & d'autre on convienne de s'en

security of the guaranty: for, provided we execute it as the wants of *Spain* require, it is of no importance whether it be done with such or such a number of troops, either of one or the other nation, since that is to be concerted according to the different interests or conveniences of each party: and it may happen that the attack from *France* may be so powerful, that it will be necessary for each of us to assist you with all the forces we can raise or equip, according to the general guaranty, and not according to any concert of forces specified in the treaty.

I do not accuse *Spain* of any want of sincerity in all this affair, but only of readiness and freeness to consent to, and accomplish what was absolutely necessary for engaging *Sweden* in the preservation of the peace. And on the other side, your Excellency cannot accuse the sincerity of the King my Master; who at the lowest of your affairs, and when *Flanders* was desperate, gave the first helping hand (when the Princes nearest allied to the Crown of *Spain* would have nothing to do in it;) contracted his alliances last winter, sent a

fleet

s'en rapporter à la décision d'un arbitre; sans conter que celui de concert luy même n'importe point absolument ni nécessairement à la sécurité de la garantie: car pourvu que nous l'exécutions selon le besoin des affaires d'Espagne, il importera peu qu'avec un tel ou un tel nombre de troupes, ou que ces troupes appartiennent à une de deux nations plutôt qu'à l'autre; car si l'on doit agir de concert c'est selon les divers intérêts & les différentes commoditez de chacune des parties. Et même il peut arriver, que les invasions & les attaques de la France seroient si redoutables, qu'il sera nécessaire que chacun de nous rassemble tout ce qu'il peut de forces sur pied, ayant egard à l'intention de la garantie en general, & non à quelque cas particuliers spécifiés dans le traité.

Je n'accuse pas l'Espagne d'avoir manqué de sincérité dans tout le cours de cette affaire, mais d'avoir manqué de promptitude & franchise à accomplir ce qui leur étoit absolument nécessaire pour engager la Suede dans la conservation de la paix; sur cela je diray aussi à V. E. qu'elle ne peut pas accuser la sincérité du Roy mon Maître; lors que l'état de vos affaires étoit le plus déploré, & que tous les païs-bas étoient comme au desespoir, il a le premier mis la main à l'ouvrage (quand les Princes les plus proches de le couronne d'Espagne n'y vouloient pas toucher)

tout

fleet to sea the summer following, sent Ambassadors to *Aix la Chapelle*, founded the triple alliance, and solicited other Princes to join in it: and all this, only to begin and procure a peace, wherein neither his dominions nor people were concerned; nor (with permission of great reasoners) had any prospect of future dangers, but what would concern the Empire and all the rest of *Christendom*, before his Majesty or his Kingdoms could be exposed to it.

For what your Excellency desires to know, why, Monsieur *Marechal* having said, there would be no difficulty in concluding and ratifying the concert, there should notwithstanding prove to be any in doing it at present; I will tell you, that the two Ministers of *Sweden*, in all that has passed between us, have not only said, but still persist, that they were ready to enter into the said concert, and intended to do so before Monsieur *Marechal* goes from hence (upon which however he is extremely pressed) but that they never intended to enter into it before the

tout l'hyver dernier sa Majesté a employé à faire traiter ses alliances, & à faire équiper une flotte qui a paru en mer; L'été suivante il a envoyé ses Ambassadeurs à *Aix la Chapelle*, il a cimenté la triple alliance, & fait solliciter divers Princes de s'y joindre en plus grand nombre: tout cela dans la vue d'achever & de procurer une paix, qui ne rendoit rien à ses états ni à ses peuples, puisque les uns & les autres étoient à couvert des ravages de la guerre. Car malgré tout ce qu'il plaît aux grands discoureurs d'insinuer, & de publier; les dangers qui menacent l'Angleterre, & que la politique a dû prévoir, ces dangers regardoient & l'empire en particulier, & tout la chrétienté en general de plus près que sa Majesté & ses royaumes.

V. E. demande, pourquoy Monsieur *Marechal* ayant dit qu'il n'y auroit aucune difficulté à conclure & à ratifier le concert, il s'y en trouve pourtant aujourd'hui; je vous diray sur cela, que les deux Ministres de *Suede* sur tous les points discutez entre eux & nous, non seulement nous ont dit, mais ils persistent toujours à dire, qu'ils étoient prêts à entrer dans le dit concert, qu'ils avoient même pretendu le faire avant le depart de Monsieur *Marechal*, quelque pressé qu'il paroisse; que leur pensée n'a jamais été d'attendre à faire cette demarche, que le payement des premiers subsides,

fixé

the payment of the first subsidies, which ought to have been made upon the mutual delivery of the ratification; saying withal, that they would never allow that this money ought to pass for payment of the particular aids they were to give *Spain* by virtue of the *triple alliance*. I have always found them so stiff upon that point, that I have been a long time in despair of overcoming their nicety: it remains therefore to *Spain* to consider whether the guaranty of three such powers be worth giving this little satisfaction to *Sweden*; and whether it would not be more to the purpose when the second term expires, to press us then upon the concert, if you shall not see it finished: but by all means to procure as soon as possible, that the general guaranty be put into your hands: and I do not doubt, but according to the dispositions I see on all sides, that the concert will quickly follow, though your Excellency should no more concern yourself with urging us to what we are drawn by the interest of every particular party as well as the public.

I wish your Excellency health and happiness; and am,
 &c.

To

fixé au tems que l'échange de la ratification seroit delivrée. Ils ajoutent à cela, qu'ils ne consentiront jamais, que cet argent puisse passer pour le prix & la recompense qu'ils s'engageroient de donner à l'Espagne en vertu de la triple alliance. Je les ay trouvés si roids sur cet article, que j'ay desespéré il y a long tems de vaincre leur delicatesse. Il reste donc pour l'Espagne à examiner & à bien peser, si la garantie de trois puissances telles que celles qui se presentent, ne vaut pas bien qu'on cede à la Suede la legere satisfaction qu'elle demande. Je voudrois que l'Espagne considerât, s'il ne seroit pas plus à propos d'attendre à nous presser sur le concert, que le terme du second payement fût echu, si tout n'étoit entierement conclu; mais en tout cas de procurer au plutôt que la garantie generale vous soit mise en mains. Je ne doute pas, veu les dispositions où je trouve tous les esprits, que le concert ne suive immediatement, & sans que V. E. ait la peine de nous presser d'avantage: en cette rencontre nôtre propre intérêt se trouve joint à celui du publique.

Je souhaite à V. E. la santé & la prosperité qu'elle desire; & suis, &c.

Al

*To the Spanish Ambassador.**Hague, Aug. 14.**My Lord, N. S. 1669.*

I Received your Excellency's letter last night, as I was making my dispatches for England, in which I immediately enclosed it, that the King my Master may see, in what this affair has ended. For the complaints your Excellency is pleased to make of me, as having hindered instead of advancing an agreement so much desired; I shall not defend myself with words, if my actions have not done it; nor think myself obliged, whatever has passed in this affair, to give account of it to any body but the King my Master. I am not the first Minister, whose services to Spain have had no returns but of reproach and ingratitude, which I shall not lay to heart, since our part is only to obey. However, I cannot but think it had been more prudence in the Spanish Ministers to acknowledge all the King my Master has treated and done for 18 months past in favour of that Crown, than to accuse his Majesty upon every occasion, either to have done nothing, or only what he found convenient to himself: since the true way of engaging a generous mind in new obligations, is to be thankful for

*Al Ambaxador de Espanna.**De la Haya, Aug.**Exmo. Senr. 14. S. N. 1669.*

A Noche recibí la de V. E. flandome en mis dispatchos para la Inglatierra, en los quales la he luego encerrado, para que vea el Rey mi Sennor en que punto a parado este negocio. Por lo que se va V. E. quexando de mi, como el que atrasava el concierto tan deseado, en lugar de encaminarlo; yo ne me voy defendiendo con razones, si las obras no me defienden. Sea lo que fuera de mi, que no tengo de responder a ninguno de lo que hago en esta materia, si no al Rey mi Sennor, y no soy yo el primero Ministro a quien aviendo bien merecido de Espanna, si lo-reconoce con desagraderle todos sus officios; pero no importa, porque no tenemos nos-otros otra parte en los negocios, si no de obediencia. A lo menos me parece que los Ministros de Espanna bizieran mas prudentemente de agradecer al Rey mi Sennor, loque ha negociado y obrado despues de anno y medio passados en favor de las cosas de esta Corona, que no de acusar su Magestad a cada punto, o de no haver hecho nada, o averlo todo hecho por su propria convenientia; porque el verdadero medio para empennar un espiritu generoso en nuevos beneficios, es agradecerle algo de los passados, y mas preste agran-
decér

for the old, and rather encrease than lessen what a King and a friend has done, at least with so much desire of succeeding well.

Since your Excellency is pleased to give so wrong a turn to what I writ with so good intentions, I will say nothing to excuse it, but still repeat what I said before; that to me it seems more reasonable that you should press the Swedish Ministers upon this agreement, if you think the time of the second subsidies not yet run out: because it is plain, that the first payment (by your own act) was to be made upon the signing the ratifications of the guaranty, without any other condition; and there being three distinct acts from the three parties, your Excellency has very artificially made mention both of that of the guaranty, and the other of concert; whereas that of the guaranty ought only to be given to Spain; and that of concert, but communicated as an agreement between the three parties entered into the triple alliance. With all this, your Excellency may see, that when I said this, I told you at the same time, that there was no doubt, after having given the guaranty, and that the Swedes had received their first payment, the agreement would be concerted too: and this I still believe from the interest the

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decer que no yr siempre disminuyenod, lo que un Rey amigo a hecho a lo menos con buena voluntad.

Puesque V. E. se gusta de tomar a tuerto loque yo he escrito a derecho, yo no le he de impedir, pero me voy rediziendo, que a mi parecer tuviera mas razon de appretar los ministros de Suecia sobre este concierto, si veyra que no se havra acabado al segundo termino de los subsidios; porque es cosa evidente por su proprio acto, que el primero pagamento se ha de cumplir con la extradition de las ratificaciones de la guarentia sin otra condicion; y que siendo tres actos distintos de las tres partes, por esto V. E. a hecho mencion de los actos de guarentia, y otro de concierto como V. E. va concluyendo aora con mucha agudeza, porque el acto de concierto no se devia dar a la Esppanna como el de la guarentia, si no communicarla solamente como un acuerdo entre las partes de la triple alliance. Con todo esta muy bien pudiera ver V. E. que en dixiendo esto he dicho tan bien que no havia duda, que despues de haver dado las guarentias, y recebido la Suecia el dinero del primero termino, se acabara el concierto, y lo creo tan bien porque veo a la Suecia interesada en ello por assegurar de los otros terminos, y tan bien por lo que espera en succediendo la guerra y la Olanda sta aun mas interesada para assegurar tanto

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Swedes have in it, to secure the other payments; and *Holland* yet more either to preserve the peace, or in case a war should happen, to secure a strong and powerful defence from *Flanders*, which, next to their own towns, is what they are nearest concerned in. I must repeat again what I said of his Majesty, that if the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* can find the way of agreeing this affair, it will never be laid to the King my Master's charge if they do not see a good end of it. But I have entered deep enough into the thoughts of the *Swedes* upon this point, to be absolutely of opinion, that they will never consent to the agreement, till they have received their first payment. Monsieur *Marechal* having only heard some expression of your Excellency's upon this affair, came immediately to desire I would go to you, and inform myself of the truth of it, and bring a positive answer from you; swearing, that if this were your resolution, the *Swedes* could very well content themselves without the money: and that for his part, he was resolved to leave the *Hague* tomorrow; and about four or five days ago, Monsieur *Appleboom* sent his secretary to tell me, he had heard something to this purpose, of your Excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwise

mas la paz, o en caso de guerra una fuerte y bastante defensa del pays, baxo como tocando les muy apretadamente y mas que otra cosa despues de sus proprias villas. Y lo que he dicho del Rey mi Sennor, lo digo otra vez que acordando se la Suecia y la Olanda en las particularidades del concierto, no tendra a su Magestad de no accobarlo. Pero aviendo yo harto escudrinnado los sentimientos de los Suecos en este negocio, soy enteramente del parecer que nunca han de tocar al concierto antes de haver recebido el primero termino; porque el Sennor Marechal aviendo entendido solamente alguna cosita que V. E. avia dicho a este proposito, me venia luego supplicar de y me a V. E. di informar me dello, y tirar una respuesta categorica sobre esta materia; jurando tal fuesse la resolution de V. E. que la Suecia se passaria muy bien del dinero; y que para el stava determinado de salir la manana de la Haya. Y no ay mas que quatro o cinco dias que el Sennor Appleboom me ha empiado su secretario para quejarse de la misma manera di haver la segunda vez entendido tal cosa de V. E. en ello. Pero si puedo disponer y los Suecos y los Olandezes de otra manera (como me parece imaginar en su carta) para mi me huelgare de su sucesso, y mucho he de alabar sus diligentias, aunque tan poco se contenta de las mias.

wise dispose both the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, as to me it seems by your letter, you imagine; I shall extremely rejoice at your success, and applaud your diligence, though you are so little pleased with mine.

I cannot tell how I came to engage so far in a language I know so imperfectly: if you do understand me, it is all I desire. God preserve your Excellency many years. I kiss your Excellency's hands, and am

No se como me he empannado tan adelante en mi gergonça de Espannol. V. E. le ha de pardonnar, con que le hecha de entender, basta. Guarde dios a V. E. los annos que la desseo.

Your most humble servant.

B. L. M. D. V. E. &c.

Aoust, 1669.

Sentence donnée sur l'affaire de Portugal & de la Hollande, par l'Ambassadeur de l'Angleterre, à qui les deux parties avoient remis la décision finale de leurs differences, non pas comme Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, mais comme Chevalier Temple.

Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal & Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt, ayants trouvé à propos de communiquer à l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre les points qui ont esté si long tems en dispute sur l'accommodement proposé entre le Portugal & la Hollande;

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre a trouvé sur la premiere conference avec les deux parties, que la principale difficulté qui restoit à demeler, estoit sur la maniere de faire les deux millions cinq cent mille cruzados qui estoient accordés par le Portugal à la Hollande, payables a dix payements egaux; c'est à dire, deux cent mille cruzados par an.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre avoit aussi remarqué, dans

dans la mesme conference que les deux parties estoient d'accord que lesdits payments se feroient par les droits du sel de Setuval, & qu'à cet effet chacun d'eux avoit proposé son expedient, par lequel ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre voyoit que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal se proposoit que lesdits paiements entiers se feroient par l'assignation desdits droits du sel de setuval pour le terme de dixsept ou dixhuit ans : et que Monsieur le Pensionnaire de Witt se faisoit fort que ladite debte se pourroit entierement satisfaire selon son expedient par lesdits droits au sel de setuval dans le terme de vingt & de deux, ou vingt & trois ans.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant aussi remarqué que l'accommodement sur aucun desdits expedients estoit desesperé pour les difficultez sur la maniere de payer les interests, dont les deux parties ne pouvoient aucunement venir au bout, a trouvé bon de proposer comme un expedient entre deux : que le Portugal assigneroit à la Hollande les droits du sel de Setuval pour l'espace de vingt ans en satisfaction entiere de ladite debte ; si le Portugal ne trouvoit pas que la Hollande eut receu sa satisfaction entiere en moindre tems ; & qu'en tel cas ledit terme seroit retranché après telle satisfaction achevée.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant proposé cet expedient à chacun des deux parties, Monsieur l'Ambassadeur de Portugal a pris du tems pour le considerer ; & Monsieur le Pensionnaire l'a accepté sur la condition suivante ; sçavoir, si dans aucune année dudit terme, lesdits droits du sel de Setuval ne monteront pas à le valeur de cent cinquante mille cruzados, qu'en ce cas le Portugal dans l'année suivante supplera en sel valeur de ce qu'on trouvera avoir manque à ladite l'année precedente : et à fin que les payments se pourroient parachever en moindre temps, le Portugal s'obligerait de ne hausser pas le prix du sel pour le Hollandois, ni de l'abaisser pour les autres.

Le dit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant communiqué le mesme soir à l'Ambassadeur de Portugal ladite acception sous la condition mentionnée, il s'accorda à l'expedient de
l'Ambassadeur

l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & aussi à la condition du Pensionnaire, pour ce qui estoit de ni hausser ni abaisser le prix du sel: mais pour l'autre partie de la condition, il la refusoit entierement, à cause que la Hollande estant assurée par la de recevoir en sel tout ce qui manqueroit chaque année sur les droits du sel à l'accomplissement de cent cinquante mille cruzados, se pouvoit departir de tirer dudit Setuval si grande quantité du sel, qu'elle estoit accoutumée de tirer chaque année par le passé: (et que par là le royaume de Portugal se trouveroit appauvri à faut dudit debit ordinaire du sel, & le Prince se trouveroit chargé d'autant qu'il plairoit à la Hollande sur les manquements des droits annuels.

Sur ces entrefaits les deux parties estant entrées encore dans une conference avec l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, & ne s'y pouvant pas accorder non plus que dans la precedente, sur aucun des expedients proposés; ils ont à la fin trouvé bon de convenir ensemble que la decision finale de toute cette dispute, se feroit par l'arbitrage absolu dudit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, pourveu que l'Ambassadeur de Portugal consentiroit que la valeur du sel se regleroit entierement par les cruzados, sans aucun egard à la valeur des Reys sur laquelle il y a eu aussi beaucoup de contraverse entre les deux parties.

En vertu de cette convention, ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre ayant meurement considere toute ce que dessus, & aussi l'interest de ces deux nations, aussi bien que de leurs voisins & allies, que cette affaire si long tems debattue, se puisse en fin terminer à l'aimable, & ne tirer pas aigreur entre les deux nations par des disputes ulterieures; declare & juge que le premier expedient proposé par ledit Ambassadeur touchant les vingt années ayant esté deja accepté par les deux parties, demeurera ferme & valable avec ces conditions, que la Hollande sera obligée de tirer de Setuval toutes les années durant ledit terme, autant de sel qu'elle a tiré dans aucune de dix annees dernièrement passées: mais, qu'en cas que par ledit debit du sel, les droits à Setuval ne monteront pas pourtant jusques à cent cinquante mille cruzados dans aucune année dudit terme de vingt ans; que le Portugal suppleera

pletra en sel l'année suivante ce qui aura manqué a l'adit somme, pourveu que ledit manquement n'excede pas la valeur de trente mille cruzados.

Ledit Ambassadeur d'Angleterre juga aussi equitable que la Hollande ne pretendra autre satisfaction de la dette, hormis lesdits droits du sel de Setuval pour ledit terme de vingt années.

Que la valeur du sel sera contée par cruzados, sans egard à quelque autre monoye puisqu'il n'y a eu mention dans le traité d'aucun autre espece.

Et qu'en cas que le Portugal trouvera à propos de charger de quelque part de la dette par quelque autre moyen, la Hollande retranchera aussi ledit term en proportion.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Sept. 2. N. S. 1669.

HAVING received his Majesty's letter to the *Conſtable* from your Lordship's hands, I thought it was fit for me to return his answer by the same way: and, that not having matter enough to furnish two letters this ordinary, your Lordship would be content to receive the whole trouble of what I have to say, since you were of course to have a part of it.

I received at the same time with this of his Majesty, the other for myself; and the same express brought another for the *States*; I doubt, all in the same style; by which your Lordship will understand the ill state of our general business here. Monsieur *Marechal* came yesterday to visit me, and told me, his errand was to know, whether I could propose any new way of drawing their satisfaction from *Spain*; if not, whether I would give any hopes of their having it from his Majesty and the *States*: and if neither of these, what I could propose as the best way * *Pour sortir de cette affaire*

* To get out of this affair, with the best grace, and without too much noise

affaire

affaire de la meilleure grace & sans trop de bruit: I told him, for the first, I was at an end of my own invention, but should not fail however of consulting with the *Dutch* Commissioners, whom I had not seen since our answer from the *Constable*. For the second, I knew he was so sensible of *Sweden's* having no right to demand of us more than our good offices in this particular, that he would never think fit to press us any farther; and those he should not fail of. For the last, it was a point I was very loth to think of; but when it was necessary, I would join with him in that consideration, but would saine believe the *affaire* was not yet desperate. He fell into great complaints of the *Spanish* Ministers here, and of their laying several discourses to his charge which he never made; particularly of their being willing to take a verbal engagement from *Spain* for thirty thousand crowns a month in time of war; which he protested was contrary to his orders, that were, to stand firmly upon having assurance for the whole sixty thousand pretended from his Majesty and the *States*, and leave us to find our security from *Spain*, with whom they had not had any thing to do in the whole business: but he said, he would tell me in confidence, that they had represented the impossibility of this pretension to their Court, and the necessity of taking the assurances for thirty thousand from *Spain*; and expect answer upon this point by the very first letters: and in case of their Court's consenting to it, he was in hopes all difficulties would be overcome; for we might finish the concert before the payment of the money, and give the *Spanish* Ministers assurance of our signing it suddenly after: and though *Holland* had hitherto declared against assuring any part of the sixty thousand crowns without real security from *Spain*, yet his Majesty having resolved to assure *Sweden* of his part, *Holland* could not avoid following his measure and example.

I easily perceived the first part of this discourse was brought in, only to usher the last; and to sound me about his Majesty's intention in this point: and so I told him, I did not remember to have heard his Majesty had ever declared any such resolution. That there were indeed several projects framed by several hands about that time, some of which contained what he said: but I asked him whether he had ever seen any of them signed? He confessed he had not, but their Court ever looked upon it as a thing agreed to by his Majesty. I said I wondered at it, because they could not but consider his Majesty as very little more concerned in this affair than themselves: and being so, it would be very hard for him to engage in the defence of *Spain*, without any hopes of reimbursement for his own part; and with all to furnish *Sweden* with so great a share of the subsidies they expected upon a bare promise from *Spain*, of repaying it after the war ended. That, for my part, having not then been in *England*, I would not affirm, his Majesty had not agreed to it, because he seemed to affirm he had: but if he had not, I thought it would be a very hard thing to expect it from him. He replied; he would not dispute whether it were hard or no, but was sure, in *Sweden* they made no manner of doubt upon it; and, that in his instruction which mentions their soliciting our and *Holland's* assuring the whole sum, there are these words, *The King of England having consented to assure one fourth part.* That if there were a question upon this, though their Court should consent to accept an act from *Spain* for thirty thousand, yet he saw there would be another difficulty less surmountable than all the rest; and so looked upon the affair as desperate. But having frankly communicated to me his instructions whenever I desired it; he entreated me freely to communicate mine to him upon this particular, that they might know what to trust to. I told him frankly that I had none upon it, that his Majesty, being

being so near, had only ordered me, that when they and *Holland* should be agreed about the particulars of the concert, that I should communicate it to him, and should receive a sudden answer upon it.

We broke up this conference very friendly; resolving only that I should discourse with Monsieur *de Witt* upon the whole state of our affair, while they expected their next orders from *Sweden*, after which we should all have a conference together, and take our last measures.

This day Monsieur *de Witt* came to me upon the same occasion; shewing me the *Constable's* letter to the *States*, which contained nothing more than mine from him, besides desiring them to employ their good offices towards the Ministers of *England* and *Sweden* for the accomplishment of this affair. After having asked me two or three times what I thought was to be done; and I protesting I knew not; at last he said, that though he was never for plaistering upon an ill wall, and he was confident, if *Sweden* trusted to *Spain* for the thirty thousand crowns a month, they would never be paid; and so their assistance would fail in case of a war, unless *Spain* gave such a security as might certainly raise the money: yet considering that the very reputation of this business concluded, might very well prevent a war, might hinder *Spain's* taking their measures with *France*, to our disadvantage; and in case of a war, *Sweden's* having received the subsidies already due, would hinder them from taking any measures with *France*, though they should not furnish their assistance to *Spain* for want of the future subsidies: for his part, he could wish the thing done; and though it had ever been against his opinion, yet if his Majesty should think fit to assure *Sweden* of a fourth part, he believed the *States* would be induced to do the same, rather than endanger the breaking of the business.

After I had deduced to him the great differences there were in his Majesty's concernment and theirs up-

on this matter; and how hard it were for his Majesty that had his seas and fleets to defend him, to contribute in all points as much as they who had the *French* armies at their gates, so soon as *Flanders* was over-run: and finding him still firm, as I have done so often before, that this state could never go other than even paces with us in this matter, nor look upon themselves as nearer concerned in the greatness of *France* than other neighbours, 'till they saw the danger fall directly this way: I at last told him plainly what I had told Monsieur *Marechal* before, concerning my instruction: which he received with his usual temper, and said, we must refer all to a conference with the *Swedish* Ministers; and in the mean time each of us should think what expedient is to be found in the case.

Concerning our business of *Surinam*, I am in great hope yet to come to some good end of it, though they will not hear of it in point of right as to his Majesty's intercession: but that it is fit to give his Majesty greater testimonies of their deference than in such a matter as this, is already the declared opinion of Mr. *V. B.* the *Pensioner* of *Haerlaem*, and some others I have pursued: and Monsieur *de Witt* promises me, if those two will second him, he will endeavour to bring the Province of *Holland* to it, this assembly; and then we may deal with *Zealand* I hope well enough by one way or other. The paper Mr. *V. B.* has made me expect two or three posts, upon the account of the places we have specified in the *Indies*, he promises shall not fail me by the next post; and should have come sooner, but that he was resolved to be the most exactly informed that could be in all particulars.

Monsieur *de Witt* has writ to those of the *East-India* Company at *Amsterdam* in pursuit of your Lordship's letter, and Sir *John Warden's* desire, concerning one *Cary* coming over to offer an end of a suit upon the pretensions of *Courtin's* heir: their answer is, that I might

might be secure they will give no money for an end of that business, since all farther pretensions are clearly cut off by the treaty at *Breda*: and I find Monsieur de *Witt* is of the same opinion.

Yesterday died Monsieur *Weymenun*, a great man in this *State*, but very little bewailed.

I believe your Lordship may hear reports of discontents growing, and parties changing here: but I doubt it is not in discourse farther than among those that are in the skirts of business; which makes me hope there may be no more ground for all that is so lavishly talked of here, and of the same kind among us in *England*: if it should be otherwise, I am at least glad to be ignorant of it; being of so much disreputation abroad to our councils: and all the persons in consideration here, I am sure, are sorry for what they hear of it, professing to be as much concerned in our union as their own; and placing all their hopes of taking any constant measures with us, upon the steadiness of his Majesty's late councils, and the dispositions of our present Ministers, before whose time Monsieur de *Witt* says * *Que ce n'estoit que fluctuation dans les-conseils d'Angleterre.*

I am,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Constable of Castile.

Au Connerable de Castille.

Hague, Sept. 4.

De la Haye, le 4 Sept.

My Lord, N. S. 1669.

Monsieur, S. N. 1669.

I Sent the other day in the Spanish Ambassador's packet, a letter from the King my Master to your Excellency in favour of Monsieur *Taaf*; and am obliged to second that affair by all my good offices, though I hope they will not be necessary

J'Envoyai l'autre jour dans le paquet de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, une lettre du Roy mon maitre à V. E. en faveur de Monsieur *Taaf*; je me crois obligé de l'aider de tous mes bons offices, mais je croy qu'ils ne luy sont pas necessaires, & que

* That there was nothing but wavering in the councils of England.

necessary; and I hope that this Gentleman shall not be reckoned the less capable to serve his Master, for having already well served his friend.

I cannot let pass this occasion, without representing to your Excellency the undoubted necessity there is, to give order with all speed for the payment of the 200,000 crowns to the Ministers of Sweden, who have expected them with so much patience, and are ready to deliver into the Spanish Ambassador's hands the ratifications of the guaranty, jointly with me and the States General. They assure me also, that they are ready to enter into a particular concert of forces, as soon as this affair is finished; but are resolved not to mix one with the other; and are so ill satisfied with some difficulties that the Spanish Ambassador has raised upon this matter, that I believe it will not be possible to keep them here two days longer; if your Excellency sends them an answer not according to the act signed by the said Ambassador, and since ratified by the King of Spain; that is to say, to order the payment of the money upon the mutual delivery of the guaranty. This is what they told me two days since; and may perhaps ruin an affair that has been so long negotiated,

ce Gentilhomme n'en sera pas jugé moins digne & moins capable de servir son maître, pour avoir si bien servi son ami.

Je ne puis laisser passer cette occasion sans représenter à V. E. qu'il est d'une nécessité indispensable d'expédier incessamment des ordres pour faire toucher aux Ministres de Suede les 200,000 écus qu'ils ont jusqu'icy attendus avec tant de patience. Ils sont prêts de delivrer entre les mains de l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne les ratifications de la garantie conjointement avec moy & les Etats Generaux. Ils m'ont aussi assuré qu'ils estoient tout prêts à entrer dans un concert particulier pour fournir un secours de forces, que pour cela ils n'attendoient que de voir finir cette premiere affaire; & qu'ils estoient résolus de ne point mêler l'une avec l'autre. Ils sont au reste si mal satisfaits de quelques difficultez que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne leur a fait sur ce premier article, que je ne croy pas qu'il soit possible de les retenir deux jours icy après que V. E. se sera expliquée sur cette affaire, & que nous aurons reçu sa réponse, suppose que cette réponse ne s'accorde pas à l'acte signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & depuis ratifié par le Roy d'Espagne, c'est à savoir de faire conter l'argent sur l'extradition de la garantie. Voilà ce qu'ils m'ont dit de depuis deux jours, & ce qui pourroit bien faire aller en fumée une affaire si long

and

tems

and brought into the port through so many difficulties.

Your Excellency will judge better than any body, how you can answer to the Court of Spain, and to all Christendom, the loss of so great an occasion for establishing the security of the one, and the repose of the other. For all this depends upon your resolutions, to which the three confederates, as well as so many others, will entirely attribute any misfortune that shall arrive. And as I have not failed since the beginning of this affair to contribute all my cares to it, so I would not be wanting towards the end, to represent the pressing necessity of this conjuncture. It is left to your Excellency to make what use of it you please; from whose conduct every one will form presages, good or ill, to the affairs of Spain.

tems negociée, & menée au port a travers tant de difficultez.

V. E. sentira mieux que personne, qu'elle se rend responsable & à la couronne d'Espagne, & à toute la Chrétienté de la perte d'une si grand occasion, qui établissoit la sureté de l'une, & le repos de l'autre. Car, c'est de vos resolutions que tout cela va dependre; & c'est aussi sur elles seules que le trois confedererz, ainsi que tant d'autres, vont rejeter les malheurs qui suivront du peu de succès de nos negotiations. Comme des le commencement je n'ay epargné ni veilles ni soins pour cette grande affaire, je n'ay pas voulu manquer sur la fin à faire une derniere demarche, qui est, de représenter à V. E. toute l'importance des conjoncture qui s'offrent encore à nous, mais qui sont prêtes à nous echapper. Ce sera à V. E. à en user comme il luy plaira: on tirera des mesures qu'il va prendre, des presages certains pour le bon ou le mauvais etat des affaires d'Espagne.

I am your Excellency's, &c.

Je suis de V. E. &c.

To

390 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Oct. 11. N. S. 1669.

I Have this day received your Lordship's of the 21st past, and having none by me from Mr. Secretary Trevor, shall presume to return in an answer to your Lordship's that little I have to say by this post: for all at present is here at a stand in our business of the alliance; and when it will proceed again, depends wholly upon his Majesty, do what I can. Since the last post, the *Spanish* Ambassador, the Baron d'*Isola*, Monsieur *Marechal*, and Monsieur *de Witt*, have been severally with me to know what I will propose, or what I will consent to for an expedient in this matter. The two first would fain have something from me to work upon; and I entertain them with complaints of the *Spanish* use towards us, having proposed at *London* not only to indemnify us, in what they projected there concerning his Majesty's engaging to the *Swede*, but likewise a share of his own charge likely to arise upon a war: all which, ever since the peace, they have been content to forget, and now would put us upon a necessity of engaging to advance the *Swedish* subsidies. I farther represented to the *Spanish* Ambassador, the imprudence of their councils, in raising this difficulty in the first payment to the *Swedes*, by the easiness whereof they might have possessed themselves of the guaranty, and thereby entered into confidence with *Sweden*; secured them from thinking of any other measures, and pursued the finishings of our work by any particular concerts, without danger or unkindness.

I urged all this so far, that though the *Spanish* Ambassador persisted in affirming, that the orders from *Spain* to the *Constable*, as well as to himself, were positive in the case of not paying the money without the particular concert; yet he at last joined with me very freely

freely in blaming the weakness and unhappiness of the *Spanish* councils upon these particulars; and wondering how the Marquis *Castil-Rodrigo* could suffer the dispatch of such orders. The next morning the Baron *d'Isola* came to me, and entertained me with long discourses of what passed between him and the *Spanish* Ambassador, in consequence of what I had said the night before: and the sum of all was, as I imagined, to sound me whether I would be induced to enter the concert upon the *Spanish* Ambassador's promising me an indemnity from *Spain* for the hundred and fifty thousand crowns a month insisted upon by the *Swedes* to be secured to them from the King. Upon this insinuation I resolved to take no hold at all; because if his Majesty should ever resolve to promise the advance of the hundred and fifty thousand crowns in case of a war; I thought it would be better trusting to gain his satisfaction by negotiating in *Spain* to that purpose, upon the grounds given of so many overtures by the *Spanish* Ministers both at *London*, *Brussels*, and here, than by taking a promise or instrument here from this Ambassador (as the Baron says) beyond his power, and especially whose secrecy in it we cannot much reckon upon: whereas the publishing any such thing may have ill consequences of jealousy between us and the *Dutch*. Therefore I contented myself to tell the Baron, that I was at the end of my line, and could proceed no farther than I had done already: that his Majesty had ordered me to give the guaranty in conjunction with the other confederates, upon payment of two hundred thousand crowns, according to the *Spanish* Ambassador's own act: that he thought the *Spaniards* had no right to press us upon the particular concert, which yet he would be ready to consider of when the confederates thought fit; and in the mean time was very sincerely resolved to perform the guaranty if there should be occasion for it.

Monfieur

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Monfieur

Monfieur *Marechal* preffed me fomewhat harder upon entering into a conference with him and the *Dutch* Deputies, which I promifed before my laft, but have excufed till *Monday* next, in the mean time to prepare matter for it. He defired to know if I had yet any powers to promife the hundred and fifty thoufand crowns projected at *London* (as he ever infifts to be fecured by his Majefty ; without which he did not fee any thing to be done here : I told him directly, I had not. He then asked me to what end we fhould confer, fince without that, the concert could not be framed, nor confequently the prefent money paid : and complained that the want of this concert was of prefent prejudice to them alone, though it depended equally upon the confent of the other confederates. I answered him, that till I received new orders, he fhould never find me vary from thofe I had fo often told him ; which were to fee firft in what propofals *Sweden* and *Holland* could agree, and then represent it to his Majefty, whole answer could be of no long delay : and that I fuppofe will be the fruit of our conference. He faid, he thought *they* and *Holland* were agreed upon all points but one, that is, in the number and kind of forces, according to the firft projected concert, and in *Holland's* affuring them a fourth part of the fixty thoufand crowns.

That which they differed upon was ; that whereas *Spain* offered a promife of the other thirty thoufand crowns ; they expected we and *Holland* fhould likewise warrant that payment, becaufe their engagement for fixteen thoufand men upon the concert, would be to us and not to *Spain* ; and it was no reafon, if *Spain* failed of that payment, they fhould yet ftand engaged to us for the whole number of men. I told him, I doubted much, that if this point were ftill between them, they were not very near agreeing : and he faid, he would fpeak with Monfieur *de Witt* once more upon it before the conference. But I doubt this will not hinder them
from

from coming to some proposal to be made his Majesty of something they shall agree in.

I am, &c.

To the Prince of Tuscany.

Au Prince de Toscane,

Hague, Dec. 5.

La Haye, le 5

S I R, N. S. 1669.

Monsieur, Dec. S. N. 1669.

I Should not have deferred the acknowledgments I owe your Highness for the honour of your letter, if I had not been pursued with a great illness at the time I received it: and I would not acquit myself of this duty by any other hand but my own, because I am sure there is none so pleased, or so ready to engage in the occasions of your service. I am extreme glad of your Highness's happy arrival at Florence; where I wish you all the felicities that ought to be destined as they are due, to so great a merit: and I hope, that after the glorious fatigues which have hitherto been the diversion of your Highness, you will now find pleasure in the softness of repose.

JE n'aurois pas perdu un moment à marquer la reconnaissance que je dois à V. E. de l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par sa lettre, si dans le même tems qu'elle me fût rendue, je n'eusse été attaqué d'une violente maladie. Je n'ay pas voulu, je l'avouerai, m'acquitter de ce devoir par une main étrangere, & cela vient de ce qu'il me semble, qu'il n'y a que la mienne qui sente autant de plaisir, & s'employe avec autant d'affection, des qu'il est question de quelque chose qui regarde V. A. & son service. Je prens beaucoup de part à l'heureuse arrivée de V. A. à Florence; je souhaite qu'elle y goute toutes les prosperitez deues & sans doute destinées à un merite comme le sien. J'espere, qu'après les glorieuses fatigues qui ont fait jusqu'icy les divertissemens de V. A. elle va trouver quelque plaisir dans les douceurs du repos.

For myself, I shall never think I am happy till I have paid my respects to your Highness in your own court; and I envy no man at present but my Lord Falconbridge, who is going on an embassy into so fine a climate, and among such

Pour moy je ne seray jamais content de la fortune, que je n'ay fait la reverence à V. A. dans sa propre cour; & à l'heure qu'il est, le seul homme que j'envie dans le monde, c'est my Lord Falcon-

conversations as those of *Italy*, where wit and weather are equally clear; while I languish in a country where we breathe nothing but mists, and discourse of nothing but business.

To confirm this last, I cannot end my letter without telling your Highness, that after so many shocks the triple alliance has born for some time, and so many presages of its death; there is within these two days some appearance of its recovery, unless any unexpected accident should occasion a relapse.

Justice is so essential among the qualities of a great Prince, that I will not doubt but your Highness does me that of believing me always with equal passion and truth,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

bridge, que son ambassade va conduire dans un si beau climat, & où il va goûter tous les charmes attachez au délicates & spirituelles conversations d'Italie; il trouvera là les jours & les esprits également purs & brillans; & pour moy, mon partage est de languir dans un pais où l'on ne respire que des brouillards, & où l'on ne fait que parler d'affaires.

J'ay déjà un peu contracté de ce genie; & pour le prouver à V. A. c'est que je ne sçauois achever ma lettre sans luy dire, qu'après tant de secousses que la triple alliance a souffertes depuis quelque tems, & tant de sinestres presages qui ont annoncé sa mort, il y a pourtant depuis deux jours quelque apparence qu'il va revivre à moins qu'un accident inopiné ne cause sa rechûte.

La justice est une de ces qualitez si essentielles à un grand Prince, que je ne veux pas même soupçonner que V. A. me refuse celle de me croire toujours ce que je suis avec tant de passion & de verité, &c.

To

Au

To the Constable of Castile.

Au Connetable de Castille.

Hague, Dec. 5.

My Lord, N. S. 1669.

THough it will be difficult to add any thing to the arguments used in my last letter, and in other memorials sent so frequently to the Spanish Ambassador, upon the subject of the payment already due to the Crown of Sweden, and so solemnly stipulated by the act of May 9, signed by the said Ambassador, and afterwards ratified by the Queen Regent: however I would not fail in this important conjuncture, to make this last effort to dispose your Excellency to the quick execution of a council so just and necessary to the repose of *Christendom*, as well as the preservation of *Spain*; and of such importance to the honour of your Excellency, who never can defend yourself against the complaints of having by little scruples lost the success of so great an affair, and neglected the fruits of an alliance whereof all *Christendom* hath spoke with so much applause, and hoped from it so much felicity.

I do not desire to importune your Excellency by a repetition of things already said; and

I

De la Haye, le 5

Monsieur, Dec. S. N. 1669.

QUoyqu'il soit bien difficile d'ajouter quelque chose aux raisons dont je me suis servi dans ma dernière lettre à V. E. & qui d'ailleurs sont repandues & ont été répétées en tant de divers mémoires envoyés à Monsieur l'Embassadeur d'Espagne, touchant le payement déjà deu à la couronne de Suede, & si solennement accordé & stipulé par l'acte du 9 de May, qui a été signé par le dit Ambassadeur, & ratifié depuis par la Reine Regente: je n'ay pourtant pas voulu dans une conjuncture si importante negliger de faire un dernier effort, à fin de tacher à disposer V. E. à une prompte execution dans une affaire si juste, si nécessaire d'ailleurs au repos de la chrétienté, aussi bien qu'à la conservation de Espagne; j'ajouteray, si importante à l'honneur de V. E. peut estre sera-t-il hors de vôtre pouvoir de parer aux reproches & aux plaintes d'avoir par de petits scrupules renoncé au succès d'une si grand affaire, & negligé les fruits d'une alliance dont la chrétienté a parlé avec de si grand applaudissemens, & dont elle se promettoit tant de joye & de prosperité.

Je n'ay pas dessein d'importuner V. E. par la repetition de choses déjà cent fois dites; &

tout

I have nothing new to add, but the consideration of Monsieur *Marechal* the Minister of Sweden's departure, after long impatience, and much discontent at the proceedings of Spain, in all the negotiations where he has intervened for eight or nine months past. Before he went he demanded back from me the act of guaranty signed by Sweden, and placed in my hands with the other acts to be consigned into the hands of the Spanish Ambassador, upon payment of the 200000 crowns to Sweden: and in the mean time, he consented entirely, that I should give back to the said Ambassador his act of the 9th of May, by which he was obliged to the said payment upon the consigning of the said guaranties: but I used all my endeavours to keep the said guaranty of Sweden sometime longer in my hands, hoping your Excellency would yet in a few days acknowledge the obligation and necessity of advancing this satisfaction to Sweden, so long due and demanded. And as yet I have it in my power to deliver the three said guaranties to the Spanish Ambassador, as soon as he shall have given the said money to the Swedish Resident here: but if this affair be delayed till Monsieur *Marechal* has represented it to the King his Master, as he was resolved to do upon his departure

tout ce que je puis ajouter de nouveau, roule sur le depart de Monsieur Marechal, le Ministre de la Suede, qui après bien des impatiences, après tant de pourparlers inutiles, enfin mécontent de l'Espagne autant qu'on le peut être, & ayant sur le cœur l'inutilité des négociations où on l'a fait intervenir, & qui ont consumé neuf mois, presse son depart, & va tout reveler au Roy son Maître; il me redemande avant son retour l'acte de guarantie signé par la Suede, & remis entre mes mains avec les autres actes, pour être ensuite déposé entre les mains de Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, lors que les 200000 écus auront été payés à la couronne de Suede. En même tems il m'a déclaré qu'il consentoit pleinement que l'acte du 9 de May fait par le dit Ambassadeur, & dans lequel il s'obligeoit au dit paiement, sur la remise des guaranties, & lequel acte j'ay aussi entre les mains; que cet acte, dis je, fût rendu à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne. J'ay fait de grands efforts pour retenir encore quelques jours les dite guarantie entre mes mains, dans l'esperance que V. E. informée de tout en peu de jours, sentiroit la justice & la necessite de satisfaire la Suede; il y a long tems que la chose luy a été promise, par consequent il y a long tems qu'elle luy est due; elle a été souvent demandée elle l'est encore aujourd'huy, & à l'heure que j'écris je suis en pouvoir de livrer les trois guaranties

departure; or till the *Swedish* Minister's Resident here shall have received an answer to the dispatches they sent about three weeks ago, upon the spight and despair they were in at the bad success of this affair: in either of these cases, I leave your Excellency to judge, whether there will be any hopes that the *Swedish* Court, fowered by the ill treatment and angry representations of their Ministers, will then give us the means, we possess at present, to finish this great work: and how necessary it will be to follow the late impressions made in that Court as soon as possible, by new ones to their entire satisfaction. For as soon as *Spain* shall be in possession of the guaranties of all the confederates, one may say, that not only all the appearances are safe, but also that the substance itself is finished. And if any forms remain towards the last perfection of the work, there must be time given to concert them, without hazarding the gross of the affair.

guaranties à Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne, aussi tôt qu'il aura fait mettre l'argent au Ministre de Suede, qui est encore icy. Mais supposé que l'affaire soit ou negligée ou retardée jusqu'à ce que le Ministre ait envoyé son memoire & sa relation à la cour de son Maître, & qu'il l'ait instruit de la situation où toutes choses étoient au moment de son depart. Supposé même que par les delais on donne le tems aux Ministres de Suede de recevoir la reponse aux memoires qu'il envoyèrent il y a trois semaines tout remplis du dépit & du desespoir de voir le projet se reduire à rien. L'une ou l'autre de ces deux choses supposées (& V. E. voit qu'on les peut supposer toutes deux) il est aisé de juger que la cour de Suede, aigrie de l'Espagne par toutes les choses que ses Ministres luy auront représentées, ne voudra plus nous continuer le moyen que nous avons encore de finir ce grand ouvrage. V. E. voit donc de quel importance il est de poursuivre les dernières impressions que la Suede a eues jusqu'icy, par la nouvelle d'une prompte & entière conclusion. Car aussi tôt que l'Espagne sera en possession des guaranties de tous les confederés, on pourra dire que non seulement toutes les apparences seront sauvées, mais qu'on aura même pourvu au fond de la chose. Que s'il manquoit quelques formalitez à la perfection de cet ouvrage, il ne faudra que du tems; car comme
tout

I desire your Excellency to consider, that such occasions as you have at present in your hands, are not usually given twice to men, and that they commonly lose their force by a slowness in laying hold of them. But I cannot apprehend so sad an effect from the prudence and good intentions of your Excellency: at least, I shall comfort myself that I have done my utmost duty towards preventing so great a misfortune to *Christendom*.

I am,

my Lord, your, &c.

tout sera disposé à une entiere conclusion, on ajustera tout à loisir, sans que le gros de l'affaire soit en danger.

Je prie V. E. de faire reflexion que des circonstances pareilles à celles que vous avez presentement comme sous la main, n'ont pas accoutumé de s'offrir deux fois à une même personne, que c'est leur laisser perdre de leur force, que de differer à s'en saisir. Mais la prudence & les bonnes intentions de V. E. me rassurent contre le crainte d'un événement si funeste. J'aurois du moins la consolation d'un homme qui a fait son devoir, & qui n'a rien oublié pour épargner un si grand malheur à la Chrétienté.

Je suis &c.

To Mr. Cary.

S I R,

Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.

I Very much wonder to hear from Mr. *Andros* the difficulties you make in delivering the tin according to my last order; and that you thereby occasion so much prejudice to the King's service, which I thought you would have advanced all you could, when I writ to you to desire your care in that business. But that you may understand what you call my commission to you; I will let you know that I had no power to give any orders at all about that matter, but in pursuance of the Lords Commissioners of the treasury's commands; and therefore new orders being arrived from

from them by Major *Andros*, they are to be obeyed in what concerns the tin business. I desire you once again to comply with him readily in the delivery of the tin, according to the last letter wrote you upon that subject; and do absolutely disown you in all difficulties you shall make upon pretence of any order from me: and if you continue to delay it any longer, shall upon the first notice of it write effectually to the *Constable* to do his Majesty justice in it, and me in particular, who neither expected nor deserved this dealing from you.

Your servant.

To Major Andros.

S I R,

Hague, Decemb. 6. N. S. 1669.

Since the writing of this I received yours of the 4th, complaining still of Mr. *Cary's* refusal to deliver the tin; whereupon I have written him the inclosed letter, which is as much as I can say in it: if he continues his impertinence still, I suppose it will be at his own cost, since your protest: and if you will send me word what are the ways of proceeding against him, I shall write either to the *Constable*, or to the Governor of *Ostend*, or Sir *Mark Ognate* at *Bruges*, to favour your dispatch. I am,

S I R,

Your servant.

To

Principis

400 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

To the Prince Regent of Portugal. Principi Portugalliae.

Hague, Dec. 8.

S I R, N. S. 1669.

THOUGH nothing could happen more acceptable to me, than the occasion which the *Portugal* Ambassador lately gave me, not only of promoting the peace so much desired between *Portugal* and this State, (both friends and confederates of the King my Master) but also of shewing some little mark of my great devotion for the Queen my Mistress; yet I confess, my satisfaction was much encreased by your Royal Highness's letter, when I found how acceptable that small service was to you. I do not in the least pretend to deserve the thanks your Royal Highness is pleased to give me, at least, not upon any other account, than that of desiring by all means to seek other and greater occasions of being serviceable to your Royal Highness, and to the affairs of *Portugal*; and in so doing I may have some better pretence to your Royal Highness's favour, wherewith you are pleased to honour me.

I wish your Royal Highness all health, and am,

S I R. &c.

Hagae Comititis, Dec. 8.

Seren. Princeps. N. S. 1669.

QUANquam nihil mihi gratius istâ occasione accidere potuisset quam mihi nuper praebeuit Dominus Legatus Portugalliae, non modò exoptatam utrinque concordiam & finem litium inter Portugalliae & foederati Belgii Status (utrosque Regi Domino meo amicos aded & confederatos) promovendi, sed & eodem nomine, immensi erga Reginam Dominam meam obsequii, saltem exiguum aliquod specimen exhibendi; auctam tamen & cumulatam planè ex literis A. V. R. obligationem meam fuisse confiteor, cum illi tam acceptum extitisse istud qualecunque officium summâ cum voluptate percepissem. Ego me autem nec gratias, quas mihi dignata est A. V. R. meruisse praefero, saltem non alio nomine quam summi istius quo teneor desiderii alteriores aliquas & majores occasiones consequendi, quibus devotissimum prorsus in A. V. R. & res Portugalliae studium meum testari potero, benevolentiamque istam cujus testimonio me tam eximie ornatum voluit, omni meliore modo demereri.

Valeat interim A. V. R. meque semper inter praecipuos gloriae suae cultores, rebusque suis addictissimos, aestimare velit.

To

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 10. N. S. 1669.

I Received yesterday yours of the 23d past, together with his Majesty's instructions of the 22d; and could have wished Mr. *Werden* had brought them with him for a reserve, though not to have been communicated till the last minute of his stay, and the despair of all other trials, for by that means we might have kept the business entire; whereas now, though it may recover some life, yet I much doubt whether it ever can, the strength and health of its first constitution; for besides so great and so many jealousies as are entered into it on all sides, I count Monsieur *Marechal*'s going away a very ill accident; and can yet make no guess how Monsieur *Appleboome* will acquit himself whenever we shall come to the payment of the subsidies, though Monsieur *Marechal* was so forward as to make it sure: but Mr. *Werden* can tell you how different sorts of men they are; and for ought I see, all businesses depend upon the qualities of the men that manage them; which (considering the ill success of this) is all I shall say in answer of your compliment to me; that, it is in very good hands.

I gave you an account in my last, of the bold advance the *Dutch* had made to the *Constable*, of signing their part of their concert alone immediately upon the payment of the two hundred thousand crowns. We expect every day the answer to this proposition; and finding one clause of my instructions to command the suppressing them, in case I find either before or after their arrival, that the money would be paid according to the treaty of *May* last; I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majesty's intentions, for me to take no notice of them, till I see what this return from the *Constable* will produce; and in case it be followed by the

payment of the money, to expect his Majesty's farther orders before I proceed upon them. If the *Constable* still insist to have the concert jointly signed, I shall then fall into the consideration of it with the *Swedes* and *Dutch* Ministers, and endeavour to bring it to an issue, according to his Majesty's instructions, but so as not to prostitute our offer till we have assurance that no more difficulties will be made by *Spain*; nor any changes desired in that concert which has so long been framed, and in which I have not observed the least inclination in any of the Ministers here to admit of any alterations. I suppose it is not his Majesty's intention I should consent to the concert, but in conjunction with the *Swede* as well as the *Dutch*, in case the first should not be induced to it, or raise new difficulties; and according to this apprehension I shall proceed. In all which points I am more distinct, that you may find whether I understand his Majesty's meaning right, and may please accordingly to inform and direct me: for the paces, as they are much more difficult, so they ought to be much more cautious in a Minister, when his instructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this affair. And you may be very confident when they are once given they shall be punctually observed to the best that I can understand them. And in that itself, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and desire nothing of my Master and my friends more than that I may be the first to hear of it when I do.

I did enclose the last memorial I sent the *States* upon the business of *Surinam*; and spoke with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* since my last upon it. He protests, that for his part he is of opinion (and so are most of his Province) to give us just what we ask in that matter; but that we must excuse the delays of their constitution, when the dissent of one Province makes the resolutions of all the other lame. He confessed, that though *Zea-land* had consented to what I mentioned in two of my late

late letters, yet they had ordered their Deputies to delay the conclusion of it for a while, so as they had been forced to write once more to convince them of the necessity which *Holland* thought there was to dispatch it speedily as well as effectually : and he hoped for a sudden and good answer from them.

The Ministers here have been earnest with me to propose to his Majesty, to go the same or equal pace with them in laying impositions upon the *French* commodities ; which they think would prove the greatest parsimony that either of us could use, and be a greater blow to *France* than armies could give. And they say, in case his Majesty should resolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleased in it ; whereas without that, they must be something tenderer than they would be.

They would fain engage me likewise to propose to his Majesty their joining with us in equal proportion of ships and men for the carrying on a war against *Algiers* : but I suppose their end is, that they may be comprehended likewise in a peace with them, which may perhaps be our farthest aim : and so I tell them this might have been a welcome proposal when we began to set out our fleet ; but can signify little, now the action seems near an end : however, that such things are fitter to be proposed by their own Ambassador in *England* than by me : and I mention them, that you may be prepared, in case he receive instructions to propose them there. I am always as becomes me, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Dec. 13. N. S. 1669.

THOUGH I had liberty given me by your last of the 2d past, to make use of my late instructions as soon as I pleased ; the *Constable's* positive answer having satisfied you what we were to expect from thence : yet

yet the advance having since been made from the *Dutch*, by the offer I acquainted you with to the *Constable*; I resolved still to pursue what I intended in my last, in suppressing wholly this instruction, till I saw the *Constable's* answer to the *States* letter, and what hopes that would furnish us with of obtaining the payment of the present money without engaging his Majesty in the concert before his measures were taken more fully with *Spain*. But yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador came to tell me, that he had received a letter from their agent *Fonseca* which assures him, that orders were already sent me to sign the concert; and that his Majesty told him so at the same time when he received news of *Don Juan de Toledo's* death. I told him, the authority was too good to be disputed; and therefore I confessed I had received orders to make a farther advance for the satisfaction of *Spain* and the confederates, than his Majesty had yet thought fit to do, or esteemed himself at all obliged to: but I desired them to believe there was nothing to give them any the least hopes of his Majesty's charging himself with any part of the *Swedish* subsidies. That if they, and *Sweden* and *Holland*, could agree upon that point, so as to dispose *Sweden* to sign the first concert that was proposed at the same time with the guaranty; his Majesty would go very far towards the conclusion of the whole matter. But I assured him at the same time, that though I were agreed with *Sweden* and *Holland* to make him an offer of the concert, yet we would not do any thing towards it till he had powers to consign the money immediately, without any new dispatches and difficulties from *Brussels*.

I found the *Spanish* Ambassador had immediately upon receipt of his letters from *England* sent an extract of them to Monsieur *de Witt*, as the Baron *d'Isola* had done to Monsieur *Appleboome*, who were both in pain till they knew the truth from me, and sent to me to
that

that purpose: and knowing the Ambassador would be as diligent to inform the *Constable* as them, and consequently influence any answer not already given to the *Dutch* letter; I resolved to go and talk with them both upon the business, and concert with them what course to hold in the progress of it. I could not get a time of speaking with Monsieur *de Witt* to day, but did with Monsieur *Appleboome*; and much to the same purpose as I had yesterday to the *Spanish* Ambassador, but plainer, and in more confidence: all that I could get from him was, that he would read over that first concert to day, and consider whether he could sign it: that it was true, Monsieur *Marechal* had offered to sign something like it, but containing in the same act the security of their future subsidies, which they were to insist upon before they sign it. I told him all the difference would be, that whereas they contented themselves before with *Spain's* promise of one half, to take it now for three parts, if the *Spaniards* would be persuaded to it; and they had the same security for one as for the other, (which I knew they reckoned upon) of not furnishing more troops than in proportion to the money they received. He seemed a good deal unsatisfied that the *Spanish* Ambassador had received the advice from *England*, before the answer was returned from the *Constable*: for since we will make no part of the security for their future subsidies, I find they would very soon touch the two hundred thousand crowns before they give the concert, which they might then sell dearer to *Spain* or at least make it the price of their satisfaction growing due by the two next payments of the four hundred eighty thousand crowns already due. All ended between us with this promise, of acquainting me with his resolution, so soon as he had considered it, and the proposal of a conference upon it with Monsieur *de Witt*. I find now the want I always feared of Monsieur *Marechal*, who is not to be retrieved; so
that

that we must make our best of what we have, and do all we can to put him out of his pace.

The Baron *d'Isola* came to me this afternoon; and his business I found was, to persuade me to sign Monsieur *Marechal's* projects, and thereby charge his Majesty with the fifteen thousand crowns to *Sweden*, but upon a promise from the *Constable*, of *Spain* supplying his Majesty with the sums we should furnish upon that engagement. But I cut him off short in that and all other expedients; and told him, if his Majesty were induced to sign the concert, as it was more than they had any reason to expect from him, so it was all they were to hope in this matter; and therefore I desired him to reckon upon it, and take their measures accordingly. I suppose by what he said, his intentions are to go away for *Brussels* within a day or two, and bring us a positive resolution of what we are to expect from thence as to the immediate payment, and their promise to *Sweden* of three parts of the future subsidies: but he will first endeavour to know Monsieur *Appleboome's* mind, who will at least be stiff in this, that the promise be made by *Spain* to the confederates, and not directly to *Sweden*.

Since my last, the *Lunenbourg* Envoy came to desire me, that I would let his Majesty know how much his Masters esteemed themselves honoured by the overtures his Majesty made them of entering into an alliance, of which he was the head: that thereupon they had ordered him to attend here ever since, in hopes of some farther proposals towards the engaging them in it; but that his Masters hearing no farther from hence; and finding that by the ill posture of our *triple alliance*, other Princes of *Germany* were seeking other measures, they had commanded him to return (which he should do about three weeks hence) but first to endeavour by my hand to give his Majesty the best testimonies of their affections to his service, and good intentions towards the

the ends he had so gloriously engaged in. I promised him to perform the message, and employed the rest of my discourse in convincing him, how much more the Princes of *Germany* were concerned in the defence of *Flanders* than his Majesty; and that however, if his Masters had any expectations besides their own interests towards engaging them, they ought to be from *Holland* and not from us; since the most important use of their troops would be to awe the Bishop of *Munster*, who might otherwise be able by the *French* assistances to divert all or the greatest part of the *Dutch* forces that way, and thereby leave *Flanders* open to the *French*. He confessed both these points; and I promised to do him any good offices I could towards the *Dutch* Ministers.

The Deputies of the *States* came this day to me, to assure me of their desires and resolutions to satisfy his Majesty in the business of *Surinam*, but that they could not yet come to a final conclusion, and therefore desired me to have patience for a little longer time, after which I might assure myself of a good end in it. They pretended Monsieur *de Witt*'s and their chief Ministers being so much taken up at this time; but upon discourse confessed, the *Zealanders* aim to have their next ships arrive from *Surinam*. Upon which I fell into some heat with them; and told them, I would never send such a message to his Majesty, such delays being fitter for law-suits than public negotiations; at last concluded, that because I would a little consider their Ministers being so much taken up at this pinch, about levies and other affairs agitating in the *States* of *Holland*; I was content to stay six days longer for their resolution in this matter, upon condition I should have it in that time to his Majesty's satisfaction. To make short of a long conference; this they agreed to at last, and I will hope may keep their words, since there was one of the *Zealand* Deputies among them.

The

408 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

The task you give me in the end of your letter, is as you say, a hard one; for whatsoever is planted of that kind, will not grow long or well, but out of a good root at home; however, I shall venture at it here all I can; and dare undertake it shall not thrive worse in this, than in other neighbour soils.

I am, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, Hague, Dec. 24. N. S. 1669.

THough Monsieur Overkirk wants nothing to make him welcome every where, but especially at the *Hague*, yet I confess he was the more so to me, by a letter he brought me from your Lordship; whereby I found myself to be not altogether forgotten where I desire most to be remembered, and would deserve it if I could. I am very sensible that the right you say he has done me there, may rather prove an ill office than a good; but however I am not the less obliged by his good meaning, nor the more touched by their ill, who are not content I should gain a little esteem, whilst I am content to gain nothing else; and where I should not care for that neither, but that I believe it to be the best way any Minister can take towards the advantage of his Master's service. Whilst your Lordship hath neither share nor belief in the ill offices are done me, I shall very easily neglect what comes from other hands, and content myself with not deserving them, and with the assurance, that time will do me right; and that your Lordship will not lose your confidence of me, till you have told me of some one action in my whole life, that you thought did not become a man you were inclined to think well of. And so I will leave that subject.

I

I agree with your Lordship in being sorry that Mr. *Werden* did not stay to see the effect of his Majesty's last resolution in the great business here: and though the ill or no entertainments of this place might excuse his haste of returning; yet I believe he would have been content a little to delay it, if he had expected any thing new from *England*: and for my part, I wish nothing more than some true witness of my carriage where-ever I am employed; which I doubt not he would have proved, without encreasing, any more than lessening my faults. I shall do neither by those of the *Spaniards*, which your Lordship has so much reason to censure and reproach; nor should I be less amazed at them, but that I look upon them as the usual distractions of weak and diseased bodies. It is certain, they have deserved so little of us, that we have no reason at all to concern ourselves in their interests or dangers, unless we find they will have very strong and necessary consequences upon our own; and in that case our growing angry with them will only serve to hurt ourselves; and we had better help them to mend their faults, than force them by despair or hardships to encrease them. Most of the Ministers here not knowing what to make of their late conduct in the difficulties upon the *Swedish* money; nor seeing well which way to run themselves, in case *Spain* should take its measures with *France* by an exchange of *Flanders*; begin to confess they have dealt too roughly with them, in imposing not only the laws of a hard peace upon them, but the *Swedish* subsidies at the same time; and ever since refusing them their guaranty till those were paid; and seem to wish they had either accepted the first proposal I was sent hither to make them upon that occasion, or else endeavoured a defensive league with them after the conclusion of the peace at *Aix*; I mean, if it might have been done in conjunction with us: for I think, while we are content to hold firm with them, it were no great matter to undertake they shall never take any measures

without us, either there or any where else : though I know there are reports in *France* that would make us believe it, if we are apt to those impressions.

For their detaining us so long upon the point of *Surinam*, it must be attributed to the constitution of this *State*, where the obstinacy of any one Province can keep off a resolution of the *States General* as long as they please : and that happens often where (as in this case) the matter touches one Province by a particular interest, and the rest only by a general one ; for, I am sure, the Province of *Holland* and the other five were many months ago resolved, not only to give us in substance the satisfaction we demanded, but in our own forms too ; till they found that *Zealand* would neither be persuaded *ni gourmandé* into the same resolution ; which hath made it hang so long, and go over at last defective as to what we expected about one of our own ships, though as they contend, full as to what we can in any way ground upon our articles. For their great arming, which it seems makes more noise with you and in *France* than it does here ; I shall not need give your Lordship the particular of it ; because that is done with the other current news be my secretary Mr. *Blaitbwait* every week to Mr. *Williamson* ; and shall only mark what may perhaps have escaped your Lordship, that there are yet no actual levies here agreed upon, but only officers chosen, agreements made with them, and security taken for their bringing in their men at a certain warning when they shall be called upon by the *States* : so as the execution of what is hitherto but prepared, will depend upon the clearer discovery of the *French* or the *Munster* intentions to open a war ; both which are expected here, and equally feared ; the difference not being great between the danger of *Flanders* and their own : so that I can only answer your Lordship's question about the *States* meaning in this point ; that it is, *Qu'on ne les trouve pas sans vert le printems qui vient* ; and that if it must prove a year

year of action, they will not be found without arms in their hands, for the better making either of peace or war. It is a hard attempt what your Lordship mentions, to defend their neighbours in spight of their teeth; yet I believe, in case *Spain* should come to an exchange with *France*, and any of the towns of *Flanders* should refuse to obey it; either not to be sold like slaves (as they call it) by the *Spaniards*, or not to be used like slaves by the *French*; you would see this *State* protect them with all their forces; and blow up any such ends of a war in *Flanders*, rather than venture it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any such new member into the body of their *State*, by giving them an eighth voice in their generality, in case it should be such a place as *Antwerp*, or *Ghent*, or *Bruges*, where they might easily come with their arms to defend it: and they have notice of some such discourses already afoot in these parts, which they neglect not to foment, as a provision against such a blow from *Spain*. In case all they can do should not be of force to prevent the falling of *Flanders* into the *French* hands; I believe their last resource may be to endeavour being received as a circle into the Empire: but in all these transactions, their chiefest care will be, to strengthen their union all they can with us, and to embark us in what they now esteem the common cause, of stopping the growth of the *French* greatness. For though they say, and with truth, that we engaged them first in the pursuit of these measures, and the whole course of their present councils; yet they would be much at ease to see us now as warm and as deep in them, as they are themselves, and would fain give us the honour of leading in them all.

The discourse your Lordship will possibly hear about changes or decays in the credit of the ministry here, I believe have no farther source than an endeavour in the city of *Amsterdam* to make themselves more considered than as a simple town in the Provinces; since they pay
half

half of all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland* as *Holland* does upon all that is levied on the seven Provinces; which makes them believe they ought at least in some degree be considered in the Province, as *Holland* is in the *State*; which made them employ all their strength to oppose the faction of *Leyden*, *Dort*, *Rotterdam*, &c. who under Monsieur *de Witt*'s influence have of late years carried all before them in the usual elections; and join with the body of the nobility here, to chuse Monsieur *Mattenesse* in exclusion of Monsieur *Meerman*; where the contest was about an office of the greatest profit in these countries, and of great honour, though not influence upon the public affairs. They have likewise succeeded well in the late election of officers for the new levies, and seem disposed to run on still in a string. And amongst them there have of late been overtures about making a new Minister, under the name of *Secretary of State*; whose province should be chiefly to receive the addresses of foreign Ministers; and take the care of all foreign dispatches; and so ease Monsieur *de Witt* of that attention he is fain to give those as well as the home-affairs. And this I suppose was calculated for Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*, who has silently had a great hand in all the councils and motions of this town of *Amsterdam*; and, I believe, will in effect come to have the chief part, or at least burthen in foreign transactions, whither with any new name or no.

Monsieur *de Witt* in these late *Brigues* has very prudently avoided any appearance of being a party in them; and contented himself with going his usual pace, but sticking no farther in any of them; seeming rather to intend and endeavour the composure of all, than the valuing himself upon a division; which I believe, with his being so very necessary to the *State*, will ever preserve him in his consideration here, without some violent revolution, to which nothing seems at all disposed.

Among

Among the late divisions of this Province, one great point has been about the intended prohibition of *French* commodities; which has been violently carried on by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* and his town of *Amsterdam*, but opposed and tempered by the towns of the other faction, upon the respect of their particular interests in the *French* trade, and the pretext of danger or ill consequences in such a council, unless it be taken in concert with *England*: so that whether it will go farther than the defence of the common *French* commodities that are in wear, I know not; though Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* reckoned (not long since) absolutely, that it would be carried to *French* salt and brandy: and if we would go the same pace, it should reach to their wine too: which he believed, would soon bring *France* into such a consumption as would keep them from being so troublesome abroad. But I entered no farther with him into any discourse of that kind; because I doubt whether we are of a temper or a humour to resolve or execute any bold or smart propositions, how well soever conceived; or conducing, to our health and good fortunes: though I question not at all, but God Almighty has given us the power of going as high as the greatest of our neighbours: but perhaps, as your Lordship says, unknown to ourselves, and in another way than some of us would be glad to have had it. But where-ever it lies, I doubt it will never come out, till his Majesty can find the means to make an end of all fencing with the bents of his Parliament, or discontents of his people; and bring his government into the credit of having no other aims nor interests but those of his subjects in general, not in particular; nor consequently any eye upon their money but for those uses they are willing to give it. This I confess is my opinion upon the whole, and, that all does not consist in a Parliament's being prevailed with to give what is asked in point of money, as I find many people think.

However,

However, I should never have said it to any but your Lordship; nor to you neither, but induced by the melancholy reflexions I observed in your letter upon this subject: but, whatever mine or another's opinion is, I am confident every man that thinks at all, must think it were not amiss if his Majesty and his Ministers would once for all consider and agree upon a general draught of those ways and councils both at home and abroad, as they judge will best answer the great ends of the King and kingdom's safety, honour and quiet. For when such a scheme is once agreed upon, all the parts of it may be pursued in their order, and with constant application till they are brought to pass; at least such as fail not in the trial, and so are found to have been ill conceived. But if it should prove (as I find some men think) that we live only by the day; and content ourselves to patch up things as they break out, and fly at the game as it rises; it is at the best but like birding or hawking; which may furnish a dish or two, but can never keep the house.

If your Lordship can pardon all this liberty and trouble, I will not run myself into the occasion of asking it again; if not, you must lay the whole fault upon your own letter, or rather upon my not having heard from you, or written to you of late; and upon my perpetual strong inclinations of returning into my old correspondence, just as a man does into an old love, which lies still at heart, however diverted or discontinued. But because I use so much freedom in the account of dispositions here, and of my own thoughts, I send it by Mr. Richard's conveyance to your own hands; in which I shall ever think all safe that concerns me, because I have been always, and am with so much passion,

My Lord, your, &c,

To

Au

To the Constable of Castile. Au Connetable de Castille.

Hague, Jan. 23.

My Lord, N. S. 1670.

I Doubt not but the Spanish Ambassador has by this courier communicated to your Excellency the project of the concert for particular forces, drawn up by consent of the Ministers of the three confederates: and I can assure your Excellency, that to bring it into form, all the said Ministers have stretched their powers as much as possible, so that there will be no room to press them farther; and it has been with difficulty enough that we have resisted the instances of the Swedish Minister to have his guaranty, rather than make this pace after so many other unprofitable ones. He assures us, that he never advanced any proposition of bringing troops from Pomerania or Bremen; because there are no more in those parts than what serve for garrisons; and when he is pressed upon this point, he answers us, that, to maintain supernumerary troops in those parts, they must have subsidies even in time of peace; and upon this condition Sweden will be content.

I think what he promises is sufficient; that is, to bring into the field the 16000 men in three months after the attack;

for

La Haye, le 23 Jan.

Monsieur, S. N. 1670.

J E ne doute pas que Monsieur l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne ne communique à V. E. par ce courier le projet du concert des forces particulieres, lequel a été arrêté icy par le consentement des Ministres de trois confedererez. Je puis bien assurer V. E. que pour le reduire à la forme où il est, tous les Ministres se sont relachez à l'envi, & autant qu'il leur a été possible. Il seroit inutile de les presser de nouveau, & pretendre en obtenir d'avantage: nous avons trouvé assez de difficulté à l'emporter sur le Ministre de Suede, pour avoir sa guarantie avant que d'aller plus loin, & de faire de nouveaux pas inutiles, apres tous ceux que nous avons faits. Il nous assure de n'avoir jamais rien proposé qui tendit à faire venir des troupes de Pomeranie ni de Brene, qui sont des lieux où il n'y en a pas un plus grand nombre que ce qu'il faut pour les garrisons; qui si l'on le presse sur ce point, il nous repond, que pour entretenir des troupes supernumeraires en ces lieux là, il faut des subsidies en tems de paix même, & qu'à ces conditions la Suede en sera satisfaite.

Il me semble que c'est assez qu'il promette de fair agir les 16000 hommes trois mois ecoulez après l'attaque; car il n'y a guere d'apparence

for there is no appearance of employing so great forces, unless by way of diversion; since the troops to be furnished by his Majesty and the States General, joined to those of the Catholic King, will be as many as can be well employed for the defence of *Flanders*; for it is not designed they should be Masters of the field. Your Excellency sees, that you may reckon if you please upon 10000 men from the States in 15 days time; and though there be no term specified by the King my Master, I think your Excellency need make no difficulty upon it: since the words, *As soon as possible*, signify the shortest time one can desire. And I confess, that not having observed any reflexion upon the time, in the orders of the Queen Regent of *Spain*, which were communicated to us by the Ambassador *Gamarra*, I gave no notice of it to his Majesty, thinking myself sufficiently guarded by my powers, to sign the same project, which had been sent into *England* as well as *Spain*.

I hope, that as soon as your Excellency will have sent powers to the *Spanish* Ambassador to deliver the money, there

d'apparance d'employer de si grandes forces, que par voye de diversion: les troupes qui doivent être fournies par sa Majesté & les États Generaux étant jointes à celles du Roy Catholique, leur nombre sera suffisant pour la defense des Pais-bas; car on n'a pas dessein de se repandre dans le pais, & de s'y elargir, ni de paroître maître de la campagne. V. E. voit, que quand il luy plaira, quinze jours de tems la rendront maîtresse de dix mille hommes de troupes des États Generaux; & à l'égard du Roy mon Maître, quoy que le terme ne soit ni exprimé, ni précisément spécifié, il me semble pourtant, que V. E. ne peut former des difficultez sur cela; car ces mots, Au plustot que faire se pourra, emportant bien un terme limité, quelque court qu'on veuille le sousentendre, personne n'ayant jamais exigé une chose plutôt qu'elle ne se peut faire. J'avoüeray, que les ordres & pleins pouvoirs de la Reine Regente d'Espagne, qui nous ont été communiqués par l'Ambassadeur *Gamarra*, ne faisant aucune mention de cette petite difference, je n'en avois pas donné avis à sa Majesté, me croyant assez muni, & assez autorisé par mes pleins pouvoirs pour signer le même projet qui avoit été envoyé en Angleterre aussi bien qu'en Espagne.

J'espere que de que V. E. aura depeche les pouvoirs à l'Ambassadeur d'Espagne de delivrer l'argent, il n'y aura plus de difficulté

there will be no difficulty in signing the project as it has been communicated to him. And I do not think, from what I can judge by the Minister of Sweden, that the affair is likely to suffer any farther delays; whereof I thought good to give your Excellency this intelligence, which you may make use of according to your prudence, and the interests of the King your Master. I am,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, Hague, Jan. 24. N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge yours of the 7th with an enclosed to Monsieur Van Beuninghen, which I have sent to Amsterdam, having first perused it as you pleased to give me leave. I shall say nothing upon it till I have spoken with him, and seen how we agree in matter of fact; because the weight of all seems to lie upon the use of those private contracts to the exclusion of our trade, having been disowned, if not invalidated by the treaty between the two nations after the first war; and upon the practice having been exercised accordingly for several years after and till within few years of our second war: which two points, if they can be evidenced by the treaty, and by sufficient testimonies of the subsequent practice, we have certainly all the reason in the world for our demands. But if we must rely upon the common equity in freedom of traffic between friends, we are engaged in the question upon which

we cannot yet agree; whether the same rules are current in the *Indies* as in *Europe*: to which I suppose we shall hardly ourselves consent if the *West* must be comprehended as well as the *East*. But I shall be able to say more upon this, when I have got a sight of the treaty after the first war, and heard Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* upon your letter: and in the mean time shall assure you of all the offices I can possibly render towards the obtaining of what we pretend.

I can add nothing to my last upon the business of *Surinam*; being engaged in my endeavours of disposing those of *Zealand* to let it pass smooth when it comes to the *States General*: such stops being easier prevented than removed; while men are so apt to persist in what they have once said. In the mean time the *Pensioner* of *Zealand* presses me to procure the names of such as his Majesty intends to employ as Commissioners, before the orders here are consigned me, according as they desired in their last letter: wherein you may observe the names of three men to be inserted on purpose that his Majesty might decline them in this commission: if you please to send me the names, I suppose it may be necessary to the expediting of these orders; unless you should think of any inconvenience in it, which occurs not to me.

In pursuit of the late conferences, whereof I gave you account in my last; we have agreed upon this enclosed project to be sent to the *Constable*, as that which he may hope will be signed upon the money being paid; and wherein I am sure there is not any thing of the least moment changed, as to what concerns his Majesty; though the changing of the form that you sent me, could not be avoided, because it was without introduction or conclusion, and besides it went a step farther than the *Swedish* Minister was willing to do, in making it an act to the *Spaniards*; whereas this runs only as an instrument between themselves, of which the

the *Spanish* Ministers are to have only an authentic copy : and since the *Swedes* had rather have it this way, I thought best to agree with them, at least if the *Spaniards* will be contented with it : but I would not be induced to engage his Majesty in point of time ; though I was never pressed with more earnestness to any thing, both by the *Spaniards* and by the *Dutch* ; who sent their Deputies twice to persuade me to it, because they were unwilling to leave the *Constable* that way of escaping us. And to say the truth, in my own judgment I thought it very little material, but I had no orders to go farther in it ; and have to the *Spaniards* taken upon myself the not having given his Majesty any notice of that pretension, early enough to have it included in my powers ; as you will see by the inclosed copy of the letter I yesterday wrote the *Constable*, in conjunction with another from the *States*, to press conclusion in this affair.

For particular occurrents, I refer to what goes to Mr. *Cook*, being unwilling to charge myself with the credit of current news ; which I have ever found so uncertain, that a man may be considered more for what he does not write, than what he does. Yet I will trouble you with two small matters, whether they deserve it or no. Monsieur *de Roban*, brother to the Duke *de Mombazon*, having sold his place of *Grand Veneur* for four hundred and odd thousand livres, came hither last week to dispose of a hundred thousand crowns in this country, though interest is not half so high as in *France* ; and has done it : which I reflected on, because I had heard formerly, he was a person as well with his Master as almost any at Court.

There was executed this week at *Amsterdam*, a person of very good quality and credit among them, only for having engaged the copies of an obligation he had from the admiralty, instead of the original, to some persons from whom he took up money upon them : and though he was nephew to one of the burgomasters
of

420 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

of that town, and brother to the treasurer of *Zealand*; and all the instances that could be, were made for having him condemned all his life to a hole where he could neither see nor stir; with offer of repaying all the money he had taken up: and afterwards a thousand pounds would have been given to have had him executed in prison; yet he could not escape losing his head with the common forms in public, to the loss of his creditors, who were as much concerned to save him as his friends. Which I observed as a remarkable strain of the justice here, so much different from the style of most other places.

I am, Sir, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Feb. 7. N. S. 1670.

SInce my last I have received your Lordship's of the 28th past; and doubt not but before this arrives, you will be fully satisfied by the late accounts I have given, of our progress here, towards the conclusion of what had so long depended between us and the *Spanish* Ministers: I cannot yet say, the money is paid; but I see nothing that wants towards it, only the adjusting of that conjunction (demanded by the *Constable*) of merchants at *Antwerp*: for the *Spanish* dealings are in so ill credit, that it is hard to find any who will give caution for such a sum to the *Spaniards*, and in their own dominions, where they can plead and judge themselves: I believe the *States* must at last engage to the merchants here, that they will indemnify them from all that shall fall out on this occasion; though after the arrival of the ratifications from *England* and *Sweden*, the *Spaniards* should make a *Querelle d'Allmand* with their correspondents

correspondents at *Antwerp*, and force them to any prejudice without any pretence.

I gave Monsieur *de Witt* the first news of the *French* King's declaration, to remit the judgments of the differences depending on the peace, to his Majesty's and the Crown of *Sweden*'s arbitration: he thought, the leaving out the *States* was something discourteous on the *French* side; but said, however he was very glad of the thing being done, and hoped, as the business should receive no hurt by any resentment on their side, so it would receive none on our side by any effect of the great cajolry of *France*; especially since this resolution appeared by the time to have another source than only the civility or deference of that Court towards his Majesty.

I doubt the confidence in this declaration will stop the levies which were intended for this spring; though these Ministers are not the most believing in the *French* promises; and I am not very confident, the effect of this last may not be spoiled by some unreasonable answer from *Spain* upon it; having been confirmed in such a suspicion by the Baron *d'Isola*'s opinion, who told me he would write to the Marquis *Castel-Rodrigo*, to advise that the Queen should accept this offer of *France*,
**Pourveu que le Roy tres-Christien remettrait au même arbitrage toutes les contreventions de la paix dont l'Espagne s'estoit plaint à la conference de Lisle.* Which concerns the spoils of *Burgundy*, and which *France* would never admit to give jointly in the conference with their pretensions about the dependences. I told the Baron, I feared such an answer might ruin the business, since it could not come till the beginning of the spring, and might then give the *French* a pretext of recalling his word; after the passing of it had laid asleep all thoughts
 or

** Provided the most Christian King would refer to the same arbitrage all the contraventions of the peace, whereof Spain complained at the conference of Lisle.*

or preparations for war both in *Flanders* and *Holland*, from whence the first assistance is to be expected : and that I thought the answer of *Spain* ought to be full and absolute as to the acceptance of what is offered by *France* : and if they would make room for the contraventions he mentions, that they should do it rather by enlarging the acceptance than restraining it to any condition, and say they accepted the arbitrage upon those dependences, and all other differences arising upon the peace, in the discussion whereof the *Spanish* pretensions might likewise be brought before the arbitrators, but at a more seasonable time than this next spring will prove. The Baron professed to be convinced by these reasons : but because there is not much trust to a person who is so far in love with his own sufficiency ; and seems to mind the valuing of himself at least equally with the doing of his business ; I thought it not impertinent to give your Lordship my reflexion upon this matter, that if you approve it, you may by some safe way or cypher transmit it to Sir *William Godolphin* : for otherwise I am confident the *Spanish* answer will be perplexed with those contraventions, which have held the Commissioners all this while at a bay at *Lisle*, and will not be admitted by *France* in the decision of the dependences.

I sent your Lordship enclosed Baron *d'Isola's* rough propositions concerning his Master's joining with the *triple alliance*, which the Ministers of the confederates think fit to discourse first among themselves, and afterwards enter into conference with him, as the Ministers of one united power. All we can do at first, will be to communicate what passes to our Masters : and therefore I send your Lordship the first proposals by advance, that I may the sooner know your reflexions upon them.

After what will pass here in the conclusion of our guaranty and *Swedish* payments ; I think, if Monsieur
Ognati

Ognati can propose any good way of securing his Majesty, or rather furnishing him beforehand with what one quarter of the *Swedish* future subsidies will amount to for the three months which are to be advanced, it would add to the strength and credit of our alliance, in giving so great a satisfaction to the *Swede*, as they would receive by his Majesty's undertaking for the fifteen thousand crowns a month, which they have so much insisted on, and seem so much unsatisfied with failing in it.

I had notice from my Lord *Falconbridge* of his intended journey; and have already begun our correspondence by a letter which will meet him at *Paris*: and shall not fail in that, nor I hope in any other duties of my employment.

I wish my Lord *Berkley* all success in his new and great charge; not knowing any other wherein a diligent, honest, and able person may be of greater service to his Majesty than in that.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful

and most humble servant.

To Sir William Godolphin.

S I R,

Hague, Apr. 3. N. S. 1670.

His bearer Monsieur *Cbiese* is dispatched by his Highness the Prince of *Orange* to *Madrid*, for the prosecution and recovery of a great debt owing now some time from that Crown to his Highness, and I think not disputed by them; and though this gentleman goes armed with much better weapons than any I can furnish him towards the pursuit of his enterprise;

yet

yet the Prince having commanded me to give him my recommendations to you among many others he carries, I could not fail of it, nor will I doubt its being of some force with you, since it comes in the service of a Prince whose birth gives him so much interest in all *English* men, and whose personal qualities and virtues give him a great deal more in all those that have the honour to know him. I must therefore beg all the good offices and assistances you can shew this gentleman in pursuit of his Highness's concernments, as well as your advice to him if he desires it, how to address himself by such persons, and in such ways, as will give him most appearance of success. Your favour herein I shall take care to value as I ought towards his Highness; as I shall always myself acknowledge it, and remain,

S I R,

Your obedient humble servant.

To the Marquis of Castel-Rodrigo.

Au Marquis de Castel-Rodrigo.

Hague, Apr. 3.
My Lord, N. S. 1670.

THOUGH the bearer hereof, Monsieur Chiese, will have no need of other support beside the name of the Prince his Master, and the justice of the affair he has in charge; I would not fail however of giving him besides, this recommendation to your Excellency, as well to pay my duty to his Highness, the Prince of Orange, as to shew my confidence, that I have yet some share in the memory

La Haye, 3 Avril,
Monsieur, S. N. 1670.
Voy que le porteur de cette lettre Monsieur Chiese, n'ait pas besoin d'autre appuy que du nom du Prince son Maître, & de l'équité de la cause dont il est chargé; je n'ay pourtant pas voulu manquer à luy donner comme par surabondance de droit, cette recommandation auprès de V. E. autant pour satisfaire à mon devoir envers son Altesse le Prince d'Orange, que pour me faire honneur de la confiance avec laquelle je

memory and friendship of your Excellency. I can assure you that the Court of Spain in doing justice to his Highness, will oblige a Prince who equals his great birth by his great qualities; and who will be one day capable of recompensing the kindness that shall be shewed him at present. His Highness already takes great part in the good turn of the Spanish affairs, by such sentiments as deserve to be cherished, and not discouraged by any treatment either unjust or disobliging. I could not recommend his pretensions to a person more generous than your Excellency, nor to one who has been always pleased to interest him so much in what regards the King my Master. And your Excellency's favour in this affair cannot be desired with greater instance, nor by one who is more than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's, &c.

je croy avoir encore quelque part dans le souvenir & l'amitié de V. E. Je pourrois bien l'assurer, qu'en faisant justice à son Altesse, la Cour d'Espagne obligera un Prince dont les grandes qualités égalent la grandeur de la naissance, & qui sera un jour en état de reconnoître les bontez qu'on aura à présent pour luy: ajouteray-je, que ce Prince prend déjà beaucoup de part au bon train que prennent les affaires d'Espagne, de tels sentimens quand ils seroient seuls, méritent que sa personne soit chérie, & qu'au lieu de le rebuter par des traitemens qui sentent l'injustice, on embrasse cette occasion de l'obliger. Je ne sçaurois recommander ses intérêts à une personne plus genereuse que V. E. ni qui se soit toujours plus intéressée dans tout ce qui a touché de près le Roy mon Maître. V. E. ne sçauroit être plus instamment priée d'accorder sa faveur, ni par une personne qui lui soit plus acquise, & qui soit avec plus de passion que je suis, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, May 6. N. S. 1670.

I Have newly received yours of the 23d past, with a former of the 19th, which brought me some marginal additions upon the paper I last sent into Zealand concerning the business of Surinam. As to the words, *The Dutch nation inhabiting there*, which are conform-

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able with the style of the *States* last letter to his Majesty upon that subject; I question not to get them inserted, in case the *Zealanders* come to a conclusion upon my paper; though they say, it already contains several points more than our first demands.

For the words, *Ou quelque autre*, concerning the person by whom his Majesty will send the orders; I suppose they will pass too; in case the intentions are not to employ any of those three persons for the carrying them, against whom the *Dutch* at first excepted.

For the other words which determine the rendition of the colony, to be that made by Major *Bannister*, April 21, 1668. I must say freely, that I have very little hopes of gaining it; having formerly employed my strength upon it without any success, so much as with the Deputies of *Holland*, or of any other Provinces which have expressed the most easy compliance with our demands; and they ever thought it very hard, that having yielded to our demands, of exporting slaves, contrary to all customs formerly practised in that colony, and upon the disputed sense of an article, we should press them to carry away likewise those very slaves which they themselves had furnished us with, though they offer to repay more than the price they cost. And upon my instances upon this matter, their answer was, that there was no need of distinguishing the renditions of the colony; since the meaning of their letter was, that what slaves had been furnished by the *Dutch* should be left; and the rest should be carried off: so that if none were by them furnished between the first and second rendition, then none were to be left; but if any were, then those to be left, as well as such as had been furnished by the *Dutch* since the last rendition. And this point I am confident was debated by the Deputies, not upon any particular knowledge of what it imports, but only upon the general notion and reason of the thing, from which it will be very hard to make them recede:

recede: however, I shall use my endeavours in it, and be as glad as you can, of any good offices that I am able to render Major *Bannister*, though he has been the most troublesome acquaintance to me, that I have ever had in my life. I pressed Monsieur *de Witt* and the Commissioners at our last meeting two days since, and particularly the Deputy of *Zealand*, for the dispatch of this business: but not having then your additions to my last paper, I could say nothing of them. Monsieur *de Witt* told me, a conference was appointed this day between the Commissioners of *Holland* and *Zealand* upon this business:

On *Sunday* night last the exchanges were made of the ratifications of the concert, with that from *Spain* for the future *Swedish* subsidies: but the *Swedish* and *Dutch* Ministers having each of them three originals of the concert, and not contenting themselves with authentic copies, as I had proposed, I am forced to give you the trouble of sending two originals more of the ratification of the concert, to be delivered to the Ministers of those two *States* upon my receiving the like from them. I will tell you by the way, that I had some reason to doubt whether the ratification you sent me would pass or no, though I thought it was not fit for me to make you any scruple upon it, unless it were first raised by the other Ministers here, and do not know whether it came in that form by choice, or by mistake: but I am sure the ratification as it runs, is only of the guaranty with its clauses, of which the concert was never taken to be a part, and stands in need of a very strong deduction or connexion with the words of the preface, which indeed mentions the concert as well as the guaranty: and you will find it very different from the ratification which came from *Sweden* (and goes here inclosed) and such as I must confess, had I been the *Spanish* Ambassador, I should not have accepted, tho' neither he nor the *Swedish* Minister have yet taken notice

tice of it. I thought not fit to communicate it to Monsieur *de Witt*, till the day before the exchange was to be made, because I knew it could not escape him, and did it then only between ourselves: and he immediately checked when he came to the words, *Supra memoratam garantiam*; and observed that there wanted the convention about forces, which was the sole end of their ratification; and thereupon he said immediately, * *Cela n'est pas comme il faut*: but comparing it with those in the preface, he said at last, † *Cela peut suffire*; and wished that others were no more scrupulous than he, where he knew the intentions were good: and so he made no farther mention of it upon our exchange of the ratifications; which I believe proceeded in him from the ill consequence he foresaw might arise upon the discovery of a weakness of our instrument in this conjuncture, when our intentions in this affair are something more suspected than you assure me they deserve,

I hear the town of *Amsterdam* has consented to Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* journey; but shall not be able to give you an assurance of it till my next, and content myself now with that of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington,

My Lord,

Hague, May 15. N. S. 1670.

THE knowledge of your Lordship's absence from town, has given you of late more ease than otherwise I intended; and your trouble now begins upon the first advice I had of your return, which was by your Lordship's of the 29th past: by which I find the suspicion

* This is not as it should be.

† This may do.

suspicion you have conceived there, of the late *Spanish* answer to his Majesty, having been indited at the *Hague*: and withal you desire to know something more particular of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* errand into *England*. The first I am confident is without other ground, than a common opinion we have conceived of more *finesse* than I have yet observed in the chief Ministers here, who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine them; but for tricks or juggling, I do not observe either their abilities or their dispositions lie much that way; nor I believe does any wise man's, unless he be brought to it by the ill condition or necessity of his affairs, and finds no other way of living; which is not yet their case here, nor will be I suppose while *Flanders* is preserved: and so long I shall look upon them as merchants in good estate and credit, and who will endeavour to keep it up by square dealing: but whenever they fail in that adventure, I shall grow as jealous of them as I see others are. I have enquired particularly of the *Spanish* Ambassador, and am assured by him, that all Monsieur *de Witt's* discourses upon that subject of the late answer from *Spain*, agreed perfectly with what he made me upon the same occasion: and I know, the *States* Deputies at *Brussels* had immediate orders from hence to apply themselves very earnestly to the *Constable* for the redress of that fault: and I dare say, whoever thinks that these men here will quit a point of interest for a point of honour, has taken a wrong measure of them. The *Spanish* Ambassador bids me be assured, that the answer from *Spain* will be amended, and come in all points to his Majesty's satisfaction: he goes this day from hence towards *Brussels*, being hastened thither by an express from the *Constable*, who I believe intends to make use of him in the *Junto* there: upon whom I hear he will wholly devolve all his public business; having taken an attestation from his physicians, that his ill health

health has rendered him wholly incapable of charging himself any longer with it.

For Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s errand into *England*, I suppose the rise of it was of an old date; and occasioned a good deal by my laying often to their charge, the want of respect they shewed his Majesty in the choice of the Ministers they sent into *England*, who are seldom of the Province of *Holland*, or of those persons most considered in this *State*. Besides, when I found I was not able to bring the business of our marine treaty to such a conclusion as we proposed, though I failed but in one article (which yet it seems is thought to import the whole of our pretensions there) I told them here, that it would be absolutely necessary to treat it in *England*, and bring it to some issue there: and for that purpose, to send some able person over who being perfectly instructed in it from hence, might debate it there with persons as well instructed on our side. Upon these grounds Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s journey was thought fit above a year ago; but his being chosen *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam* about the same time, made him then absolutely refuse it. Since his year expired, my instances still continuing for a conclusion in our *East-India* business; and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*'s papers upon the same subject keeping life in it from time to time, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* began about two months since to show some inclination to the journey: which has been pursued very earnestly by the *States* here, and especially by Monsieur *de Witt*, till it came lately on all sides to be resolved on: so as your Lordship must reckon, that the avowed errand will be the business of the *East India* Company, and the clearing that part of the marine treaty which so long proved too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the compliment they pretend to make his Majesty, in sending a person of so much account amongst them, as Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*: and with the orders of *Surinam*, which they

they here reckon upon as a perfect piece of compliance with his Majesty. And this is the account they give the *French* Ambassador of this journey; adding a good deal of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* inclination to see *England* in this season.

That which is farther meant by it, is, first in general to inform themselves perfectly of our temper in the pursuit of those ends we have been these two or three years last engaged in: and which many discourses and reflexions of late have made them a little suspect, does not continue so equal and so warm as it began. And in this regard it will be his business to use his best and most persuasive oratory to confirm us in the pursuit of those common interests abroad, which we have of late so much advanced by our *triple alliance*, and the dependences of it: and in short, to persuade us, that it is more our honour and our interest to lead than to follow. In pursuit of this, he will I believe endeavour to dispose us to accept a conjunction with such Princes of the *Empire* as desire it, upon such measures as are proposed in the late project I sent your Lordship drawn up by Monsieur *de Witt*: though I have made so good way in defending you upon this point, that I believe it would not cost much trouble there, unless you are willing to enter farther into it than you seemed of late.

Another point, and that which I believe he will most eagerly pursue, is the prohibition of *French* commodities, upon which his particular imagination has been long bent, as the only sure and easy way of bringing the *French* power and riches into decay, in case the thing could be agreed on among all or the greatest part of their neighbours: and this *State* having sounded the *Spanish* Court upon that point, received answer, that whatever *England* and they should agree upon, *Spain* would readily join with them in it: by which means they suppose, that besides what would be saved by both our nations, by stopping the vast importation of *French* commoditie

commodities; a very great traffic would be gained by exporting our own, to furnish the *Spanish* fleet, which supplies their *West Indies* every year in a great measure with commodities brought them from *France*. The resolutions of this *State* go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all sorts of wearing goods and brandy; nor do I know whether this itself will be brought to execution, before they are satisfied how far we are likely to join with them in it; after which, the considerations of wine and salt will likewise come in play.

Besides these public matters, I doubt you will likewise be pursued about Mr. *Honywood's* widow, who is daughter to a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, and so most properly under Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* protection, especially being a young and handsome widow; which I hear will tempt her to go over with him herself, and plead her own cause.

I do not think the intentions of his journey go farther than what I have mentioned, unless he be invited to any thing upon the place, or by some new accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we shall have a great deal of reason to welcome him, because he has very industriously employed himself in helping us to gain our point upon the business of *Surinam* which was yesterday resolved on by the *Sates General*, though the Province of *Zealand* protested against it: and besides, nothing has given us so hopeful a prospect of the Prince's good fortunes here, as the support of the town of *Amsterdam*, so declared, and so warm in his present concernment; towards which I am confident Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* has very much contributed, as being a person of very great influence in that city. The state of that whole business is so well and so fully set down in the paper of intelligence, that I am sure I cannot amend it and therefore will not repeat it.

Your Lordship will know by the inclosed, that Monsieur *de St. Evremont* set out this morning towards
England

England, with the *Portugal* Ambassador likewise, who both accompany Monsieur *d'Opdam* as far as *Nieuport*, and there embark for *Dover*, whilst he goes on to meet the *French King* at *Dunkirk* with the *States* complements.

I am ever,

My Lord,

your, &c.

P. S. I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that another part of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* instructions will be, to endeavour all that can be, that this *State* may be admitted into a conjunction with his Majesty for the pursuit of the *Algerines*, till they are reduced to the necessity of a peace with both.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, May 27. N. S. 1670.

I Have this day received yours of the 13th current, with the account of my Lord of *Essex's* treatment in passing the *Sound*; which, if wholly new, was what we had very little reason to expect from that Crown since the change of their ministry: though there are some reports here that they intend to keep up a close intelligence with *France*, for fear of the *Swede*; whose forces give them at this time, it seems, some jealousy. I will hope, my Lord of *Essex* may receive the satisfaction he demands, however he will have that of having discharged his part upon this occasion with the constancy that became him.

I do not question but you will receive a wiser answer, as you say, from *Spain*; and wish they could find wiser men to encharge with their great affairs and governments, than you will see they do by the accounts

I know you receive from *Brussels*, of the *Constable's* late caprices in order to his return for *Spain*. It is here variously discoursed who shall succeed him: the old *Empress* and Prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* being still in name among some others; either of which, or both together, as it is talked of, seeming the best choice that can now be made by the Crown of *Spain*. It is wished here that his Majesty would further it all he can by the offices of his Minister in that Court.

Yesterday the *Spanish* Ambassador's Secretary came to communicate to me a letter he had received from the Ambassador at *Brussels*; taking notice, that upon a more particular observation of our late ratification of the concert, the date of it was preceeding to that of the concert itself, signed by me here at the *Hague*, which was the last of *January* N. S. whereas the ratification at *Westminster* bears date the 7th of *January*, O. S. And this remark of the Ambassador's I find to be true, by comparing it with the copy of the ratification that lies by me: and doubt not but the mistake only was of the month of *January* for *February*, in the ratification you sent me over. Whereupon I assured the Secretary, there could be no difficulty in the redress of it, and he desired me to endeavour it as soon as I could; and I hope the notice of it may come time enough to prevent the same mistake in the instruments intended for *Sweden* and *Holland*, as well as to procure a new one for *Spain*.

I could not by the last post give you the certainty of the issue in the Prince of *Orange's* affair, the *States* of *Holland* not rising till one o'clock that night, after the warmest debates which have been known among them for many years: however, the towns which favour the Prince having the plurality of voices, and *Amsterdam* in the head of them, at length carried their point, and brought it to a resolution, that the Prince should have session in the council of State with a decisive voice;

voice; and should have the same place his ancestors were used to. After this was resolved on, that party which the most opposed the Prince's interest, started two new points: the first, that no Captain-General should be chosen otherwise than from year to year, but by unanimity of voices. And secondly, that in case the Prince should be chosen Captain-General for life, then it should be again debated and resolved by plurality of voices, whether he should continue his session in the council of State. And these two points were agreed to by all the towns excepting four or five, in which number were *Amsterdam* and *Haerlem*; who maintain, that they were not now to be resolved, but then only when those matters came in question. The *States of Holland* being separated after these resolutions, the execution of that concerning the Prince's entrance into the council of State, will remain in the *States General*, and consequently receive no opposition that I can foresee: and though it bears no great name, yet I take it to be of that importance, as to leave his Highness's future fortunes in a manner wholly dependent upon his own carriage and personal qualities, which give hitherto all the signs that can be of advancing, and not impairing them.

In the course of this business, Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* has so much provoked the ill will and opinion of these towns which were contrary to the Prince, that they had almost resolved to make a stop of his journey; but that is now over, and he prepares to be gone the end of this week: and will not deserve to be less welcome in *England* for what has lately passed here, though perhaps it may not be to his advantage, nor to the Prince's neither, to give him any too public testimonies of it. He gave me hopes on Sunday night, that to-morrow the business of *Surinam* would be ended, according to the form I drew up in pursuit of our last conference, which I here send you inclosed:

inclosed : though he told me there would be difficulty in the point of Major *Bannister's* landing with so much liberty as is insisted on : and therefore he pressed me hard to be content with either remaining aboard his ships, or else lodging in the fort till his affairs were dispatched, where all convenience should be provided him : but I refused both ; and so left the thing with him in the form it now runs,

I am, Sir, your, &c,

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord,

Hague, May 30. N. S. 1670.

THOUGH I know your Excellency would easily forgive me a commission which might save you a trouble in the midst of many others that are a great deal more necessary : yet I could not forgive myself if I should any longer delay giving your Lordship the assurances how great a part I take in all your fortunes, and consequently how much I have shared in the general satisfaction which I hear you have both left in *England*, and found in *Ireland*, upon your late entering upon the government of that kingdom. I am not only much pleased with it upon a private score, as one of your Lordship's servants, but as having always had the best wishes for the public good of that country, and his Majesty's service in the establishment of it : both which will, I am confident, thrive very much in your Lordship's hands ; not only in regard of the great experience and abilities which are so generally allowed you ; but because you are too rich as well as too generous to lose the merit and glory of great and honest actions, in the cares of your own private fortunes : for this has too often given an alloy both to the worth and success of several of your Lordship's predecessors ;

predecessors; and contributed chiefly to the unhappiness of the governors as well as of the country; both which I hope you will have the honour to restore. I cannot but observe to your Lordship, that I find by a general consent of the merchants here, that *Ireland* runs every year an eighth part in debt by importing so much beyond its exportation; which being to be drawn out in coin, will be a certain though slow consumption of the treasure of that kingdom; unless remedied by sumptuary laws or examples for lessening the importation of foreign commodities; or else, industry for increasing the native, which are either consumed at home, or carried abroad: the first is like diet, but the other like exercise, to an indisposed body, which is the way of acquiring strength and vigour; whereas the former gives but barely health. I believe the two great improvements to be made in *Ireland*, are of the *Fishing* and the *Linen* trade; this to keep our money at home, and that to fetch more in from abroad. If your Lordship thinks these particulars worth your care, and that I can contribute towards them by any lights and assistances from hence; I shall be glad upon that or any other occasion to receive your commands.

I have given my Secretary order to make an extract of the news which either arises here, or comes to me by letters from foreign parts; which shall go weekly to you, if you think it worth the trouble, and will please in return to do me the justice of esteeming me what I am with much truth and passion,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

obedient humble servant.

T.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord, *Hague, June 3. N. S. 1670.*

I Was extreme glad to find by your Lordship's of the 16th past, some assurance of your recovery: and whatever the name of your illness was, will believe the nature of it could not be very bad since it left you so soon: after which I will trouble you no more with my remedies; nor shall I need any myself after so great a one as your Lordship has given me by the knowledge of your own and my Lady's health: for which I make you my particular acknowledgments.

By observing the winds, I guess Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* will, before this arrives, have given your Lordship the account himself of his leaving the *Hague* on *Sunday* night, and setting sail I suppose on *Monday* evening; unless Madam *Honeywood* made him stay some hours longer, who had appointed to be with him by that time from *Amsterdam*. I will say nothing in favour of her pretension, but that she is daughter to the ancientest Burgomaster of *Amsterdam*, who has expressed the greatest passion of any other of the *States*, in favour of the Prince of *Orange's* late concernment, and may perhaps thereby deserve some mark of his Majesty's favour, which I assure you I say wholly of myself: for my good offices in her business were not at all thought worth engaging, since Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* undertook it, as I suppose he has done by their joining company. Your Lordship will find nothing to lessen your esteem of his person, unless it be, that he is not always so willing to hear as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his imagination is apt sometimes to reason a man to death: which I tell your Lordship before hand, that you may not fall into any prejudice before you know him well: and on the other side, I have taken some care to prevent his employing

ploying that talent too much in your conversations. For the rest, you will find him *fort bonnête homme*; one that puts all the good of his country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majesty's alliance; and who, upon the Prince's occasion will deserve the good will of our Court.

For his manner of negotiating, I am confident you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impose his measures, as you call them, upon us: but after any propositions and reasons he shall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are masters of all; and that the *States* will, in all things that concern our neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take.

Whatever reception the *States* proposal about the *Algerines* meets with in *England*; I wish to God some better order were taken for preserving our honour in the *Mediterranean*: for, what with the ill conduct of our Captains, that they say will turn merchants, leaving our merchants to play the men of war, and with the late shameless loss of *Sapphire*: I assure your Lordship, the reputation of our sea-affairs and men decays abroad to a degree that is very sensible I am sure to me, and I doubt will hardly recover without some new and severe discipline or examples.

The Prince of *Orange* was introduced into the Council of State on *Saturday* last, and with the circumstances which he is very well pleased with. He resolves upon his journey into *England* about the latter end of this month, or beginning of next: but will not fix the time till the Pensioner's return from *Groningen* about ten days hence.

I am, my Lord, your, &c.

To

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord Hague, June 17. N. S. 1670.

I WAS very glad to hear this morning of your Lordship's being well arrived in town; where I hope the diversions of your late journey have returned you with such an encrease of health as is necessary for the support of your great affairs, *T para mi consuelo*. Many *French* have lately passed this way since the return of that Court; some who attended *Madame* into *England*, and extremely applauded her reception there, and his Majesty's great graciousness to those of her train. The Count *d'Estades* came likewise three days since, but I think barely on a visit to his old home; or if he has any business, it is particular, and at *Amsterdam*. I find, they all agree in assuring us of the peace, as long as we can assure them of the King of *Spain's* life: but in giving us fair warning that whenever that fails, their Master will march into the rest of *Flanders* without any circumstance, and possess himself of it if he can. This knowledge, and that of the King of *Spain's* late sickness, have given them some perplexity here, which is much relieved by this day's news of his recovery. But we find nothing yet towards the redress of the late untoward answer upon the arbitrage.

The Prince of *Orange* continues still the talk, as well as the desires of his journey into *England*; but has of late been very earnest to know my opinion, whether he be like to procure any satisfaction in his pretensions there; saying, as I guess, industriously, that all his best friends here are of opinion, that in case that should wholly fail him, his journey into *England* would prove of great prejudice to his affairs here, by letting his friends see how little he is considered by his Majesty, whose countenance will be a great support to him in the course of his fortunes.

I durst not offer his Highness the least judgment of my own upon this matter; assuring him I was wholly ignorant of all his Majesty's affairs, besides what related to this country; and particularly of the present State of his revenue, or how much the late supplies have contributed towards the ease of it: upon which the Prince seemed very desirous that I would touch this point to your Lordship, so as to have your thoughts upon it before he goes. This I suppose proceeds chiefly from the *Princess Dowager*, who declared her opinion positively to me some weeks ago upon this matter, to the same purpose; and I hear, persists in it; which yet she does not in all things. For I can assure your Lordship, she now professes to be the most satisfied that can be with my conduct in relation to the Prince, and makes me more acknowledgments than are fit for me to receive; since I pretend only not to have spoiled his business, which it had been the easiest thing in the world for an *English* Minister here to have done. I wish to God he do nothing towards the prejudice of it himself, by advice of younger or warmer heads: for this is a country where fruit ripens slowly and cannot be preserved if it be gathered green. I am very confident from his last, as well as the present dispositions I here discern, that his fortunes are in his own hands; and I hope he will make great advantages in the conduct of them, by your Lordship's advices when he sees you in *England*, of whose prudence and virtues he will go over with a very full persuasion.

Monsieur de Witt returned yesterday to town, after fifteen days absence at *Groningue*, about the composing some differences in that Province. * *There is a violent humour runs against him of late in the town of Amsterdam, upon pretext of his growing too far into the sway of all affairs in this State by so long a ministry; and of advancing his own friends into offices and places of trust, with too*

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*This was a year or two before he was massacred.

much industry. But I suppose the bottom of this is the same with that of all popular humours; that is, a design in the leaders to change the scene, that so those who have been long employed may make room for those who have been long out. I am not of opinion they will succeed to prejudice him suddenly; both because his chief enemies acknowledge his great abilities and usefulness to the State, and because he will always have it in his power to fall in very considerably with the Prince's interest, which the other party pretends to promote: though in such a case his Highness would have a hard choice with which wind to sail: as indeed he is likely to fall into conjunctures here that will require all his prudence.

I thought fit to say thus much at once to your Lordship, that so you may the better know what to make of twenty reports that may arise upon these occasions. Though it will I think after all be our parts both in *England* and here, to seem the least we can concerned in them, farther than our wishes to the perfect union of a *State* we are so near allied to; which we may I suppose own our opinion of, that it will never be compassed but by taking in the Prince's interests, as far as can consist with the liberty of the *State*: and making such a person of him, as may in title, expence, and other circumstances, represent the dignity of their commonwealth.

I am ever,

My Lord,

Your, &c.

To the Earl of Northumberland.

My Lord,

Hague, Jun. 17. N. S. 1670.

BY the same post which brought me the honour of a late letter from your Lordship, I received from other

other hands the news of my Lord of *Northumberland's* having left you to the succession of all his honours and fortunes; which gives me the occasion of acknowledging your Lordship's favour and memory; and at the same time of condoling with you upon the loss of a father, whose great virtues and qualities must needs have made so many sharers with you in this affliction. I hope the help which is given your Lordship by so many of your servants and friends upon this occasion, will serve to ease your own part in it: and that after all that can be offered up to decency and to the memory of so great and excellent a person, this will find your Lordship rather taken up with the imitation of his virtues, than the bewailing of his loss: since this is but what he owed to nature and to age, and to the course of long infirmities: and the other is what will be due from your Lordship all your life, to your birth, your family, and yourself. Nor indeed can ever so much depend upon so few paces, as will now, upon those your Lordship shall make at your first setting out: since all men will be presaging by them the course of your journey, as they will have indeed influence upon the ease as well as the direction of it. For my own part, I expect a great increase of your Lordship's personal honour upon this occasion: and that having been so excellent a son of a family, you will shew yourself the same in being now a father of it; since nothing makes men fit to command, like having learned to obey; and the same good sense and good dispositions make men succeed well in all the several offices of life. Those I know will be your Lordship's safety in entering upon a scene, where you will find many examples to avoid, and few to imitate: for I have yet seen none so generally corrupted as ours at this time, by a common pride and affectation of despising and laughing at all face of order, and virtue, and conformity to laws; which after all, are qualities
that

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that most conduce both to the happiness of a public State, and the ease of a private life.

But your Lordship will, I hope, make a great example, instead of needing other than those of your own family, to which so much honour, order and dignity, have been very peculiar; as well as the consequences of them in the general applause, and the particular esteem of all those who have had the honour to know and observe it. Among whom there is none more desirous to express that inclination by his services, nor that has more of it at heart than,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most faithful
and most humble servant,

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Au Grand Due de Toscane.

Hague, June 27.

S I R, N. S. 1670.

HAVING so long taken part in whatever concerns the person or interests of your most serene Highness, I could not fail to condole with you for your great loss, whereof all *Christendom* would have been sensible to the last degree, if the grief for such an accident were not lessened by the succession of a Prince who has left such impressions of his person and merits where-ever he has appeared, as will never be worn out,

De la Haye, 27 Juin.

Monfieur, S. N. 1670.

AYANT pris depuis long tems une aussi grande part dans tout ce qui touche la personne ou les intérêts de V. A. Sme, je ne pouvois manquer à m'affliger avec elle à l'occasion de la perte qu'elle vient de faire, & qui est telle, que la Chrétienté en seroit inconsolable, si la douleur d'un événement si triste n'étoit soulagée par l'idée du Prince qui vient remplir la succession; on sçait que c'est une Prince qui a laissé de sa personne & de son mérite par tout ou il a paru des impressions qui ne s'effaceront jamais.

'Tis

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'Tis true, such is the composition of human things, that nothing is pure or without mixture; so that even upon this occasion I see some ground to mix my congratulation with my condolence, when I consider that your Highness has finished your travels before the accession of this glorious charge. Your Highness has added to your birth and wit, all the advantages that the commerce of strangers is accustomed to give; and you now find occasion for the exercise of all, towards the government of your subjects. My wishes and applauses shall not be wanting to your Highness; though I know your conduct and good fortune will give me little occasion but for the latter, as your Highness's great qualities have already given me a great deal, to be;

S I R,

Your Highness's most humble

and most faithful servant.

Il est vray, que telle est la composition des choses humaines, que rien n'y est pur & sans mélange; le bien & le mal ne se laissent guere gouter separement. En cette rencontre donc je vois dequoy meler mes congratulations à mes condoleances; je fonde les premieres sur ce que V. E. Sme avoit achevé tous ses voyages lors qu'un si glorieux fardeau luy est tombé en partage. Elle à ajouté au bonheur de sa naissance, & à la penetration de son esprit, tout ce que le commerce & la comparaison de divers strangers chez qui elle avoit séjourné, a accoutumé de donner. Cette riche moisson étant à peine faite, tant de talens sont mis en ouvrage, & V. A. se voit à present obligée de les consacrer au soin du gouvernement de ses sujets. Mes vœux & mes applaudissemens ne manqueront jamais à V. A. quoy que sa conduite & sa prosperité me repondent que je ne feray usage que de ces derniers: ses grandes qualitez avoient deja fourni beaucoup de motifs d'être,

Monsieur,

De V. A. Sme, le tres humble

& tres fidelle serviteur,

T^g

To Sir William Godolphin.

S I R,

Hague, July 3. N. S. 1670.

I Have not had any thing of late worth your trouble, nor any of yours by me to acknowledge ; though I should have been glad to have received from your hand the assurance of what comes to me more uncertainly from others, of the *Catholic King's* perfect recovery, and the *Junto's* disposition to admit simply of his Majesty's and the King of *Sweden's* arbitrage, as was proposed. The great deadness of the season in point of news would have excused you this trouble, but that the *Swedish* Minister here begins to pursue me hard for my offices towards the *Spanish* Court for the second payment, which he reckons to be already due by the expiration of eight months since the delivery of the guaranty. But Monsieur *de Witt* and I are both of opinion, the *Spanish* Ambassador's act may very well be construed to signify eight months from the signing of the concert, which *Spain* always insisted upon as an essential part of the guaranty ; and to begin the payments only upon the signing of it, which was the last of *January* past ; by which calculation the second payment will grow due at the end of next *September*. But this is fitter to be argued by *Spain* than by us : and that which is more necessary, is for them to provide so as the money may be ready here by that term, to recover by the fairness and ease of this payment, the credit they lost in *Sweden* by the difficulties of the last. In the mean time, if you can persuade the *Spanish* Court to signify to the *Swedish* Minister either there or here, that they have been put in mind of it by you ; and to have it so much in their care as to provide that it shall not fail at the end of *September*, which they take to be the term it grows due ; you will I suppose perform an office both necessary and grateful

grateful to all the parties interested in that affair. The *Dutch* would have enjoined it to their Minister, if they had any present at *Madrid*; the want of which gives you more than your share in these transactions. They would fain engage Monsieur *Beverning* to accept of that employment; which I wish for your sake, but I doubt its succeeding.

The Prince of *Orange* intends to go for *England* about the end of this month; and my Lord *Ossory* is shortly expected here to attend him in his journey. I am always,

S I R,

Your most obedient

bumble servant.

To the Earl of Essex.

My Lord,

Hague, July 7. N. S. 1670.

I Have received by this last post the favour of one from your Excellency of the 18th past, which gives me the hopes of a sudden dispatch in your present negotiations, and the very welcome news of your intention to pass this way in your return; where I shall be very glad to find the occasions I desire of serving your Lordship in a place that indeed better deserves a passing visit than any long abode.

Your Excellency will have received by a former letter my condolences upon my Lord *Northumberland's* death, which indeed was very untimely for himself, his family and his friends. But if we needed greater examples how little defence is to be found against that enemy either from greatness or from youth; we should have received a very sufficient, as well as a very sad one by an express which brought this morning
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the news of *Madame's* death, by particular letters both to the *States* and to the Prince of *Orange*.

The *French* courier being not expected till to-morrow morning, I have not yet received any letter of it from my Lord Ambassador at *Paris*; and therefore shall give your Lordship the relation just as it comes in the Prince's letter, which says, that on *Sunday* last, being the 29th of *June*, N. S. *Madame* having eaten very well at dinner, and continued so some hours afterwards, about four o'clock in the afternoon called for a glass of succory-water, which she used to take every day about that hour; and having drank it off complained that it was very bitter, and presently after began to find herself ill, and fell into violent fits of the cholic; upon which she said, that she was sure she should die, and immediately sent for her confessor, and with great resolution disposed herself to it, by passing through all the forms of that church upon such occasions. The news of her Highness's illness was immediately dispatched from *St. Clou* where the Court then was, and occasioned the King's coming presently to her, who arrived about eight o'clock that night, and brought his chief physician with him; who both began to comfort her sickness, and assure her, that her cholic could not easily carry away a person of her age. But she persisted in assuring them of her death, spoke a good while softly to the King; and afterwards said aloud, that she had no regret at all to die; but that her greatest trouble was, by so hard a separation to lose his Majesty's friendship and good graces which he had always expressed to her. She spoke to Monsieur in the same terms about her great willingness to die; which, she said, was the more, because she had nothing to reproach herself of in her conduct towards him.

The King left her about ten o'clock at night, his physician assuring him she could not die of a cholic,

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or at least not so suddenly as she seemed to apprehend: but her illness and pain increasing, she expired about two o'clock in the morning, leaving great sadness in that Court, and regret in all those who had the honour to know her.

Your Excellency will easily imagine how sensibly his Majesty will be touched by this affliction; and therefore I am sure you will receive the same part in it that I and all the rest of his servants ought to do: which I shall not increase by enlarging upon so sad a story, farther than by one particular more of the Prince's letter; that her body being opened in the presence of several persons, and among them my Lord Ambassador, they could not find the cause of so sudden a death.

Our news from *Brussels* is, that the *Constable* was to depart from thence on *Saturday* last, leaving the Count *de Monterey* Governor of those countries by the Queen Regent's commission for the *interim*, until a new Governor should be sent from *Spain*, who they give out will be *Don John*, and that he will be there in a very little time, and take upon him that government for his life: but the certainty of this we must expect hereafter from *Spain*. The *Danish* Envoy here tells me, he intends to go very shortly for *Copenhagen*, and that he hopes to find your Excellency there, wherein I confess I differ with him. I should be very glad to know whether he did me the right of conveying a letter I wrote to Monsieur *Guldenlew*, in answer to one I received from him upon his last arrival in *Denmark*. Your Lordship will oblige me to let one of your Secretaries inform himself from one of his, whether such a letter was received, without drawing it into any farther consequence.

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I beseech your Lordship to believe me always what I am with very much sincereness,

My Lord,

your Excellency's

most faithful and

most humble servant.

To my Lord Berkeley.

My Lord,

Hague, July 11. N. S. 1670.

I Received one from your Excellency of the 11th past, by which you were pleased both to oblige and inform me: nor could any thing happen more agreeable to me than an occasion of acknowledging as I ought the favour you there express both to my friends in *Ireland* and to me: of which I am equally sensible.

I doubt not but your Lordship will find in the loose posture of affairs in *Ireland*, a great subject for your prudence and industry; in the application whereof, I wish your Lordship all success and glory, being incapable at this distance to make any reflexions on particulars, either the evils or the redresses: only as an old servant, I may have the liberty of putting your Lordship in mind of one point wherein your reputation is much concerned, and upon which I doubt you do not much reflect: but if you should continue this luxurious custom of getting a lusty boy every year, people will think that you live like a voluptuous young man of twenty years old, and not like a staid and wise Governor of a kingdom: nor am I very well satisfied myself, whether it be a thing that consists with the gravity of a Privy Counsellor, much less of a Lord Lieutenant. But when I consider that of so good a race we cannot have

have too many, I am forced to leave my censures to give your Lordship much joy of your *Irish-man*.

We have nothing here in discourse but the sad and surprising news of *Madame's* death: of which your Lordship will have the particulars from so many hands, that I will not repeat them; nor enter into the general reflexions that are made upon it in all places I think, I am sure here without scruple or dispute.

The *Constable* is gone for *Spain*, and left his government much as he held it: nor can I judge whether it came from his natural temper, or some contracted indispositions: for his health has been of late the cover for it: but these six or eight months past, he has been obstinate to hear nothing of business, returning all that has offered by his nearest officers, with * *Quire matarme?* and passing his time with his virginals, his dwarfs, and his graciosoes. Some say, his imaginations reached so far as to raise up spirits and assassins when he was alone.

If *Spain* has no greater men, it is pity they have so great use of them; for I am sure, *Non tali auxilio nec defensoribus istis tempus eget*. He has left the government for the *interim*, by the Queen Regent's order to the Count *de Monterey* whom he hated; and I hear Count *Marsyn* says, he will not obey a man, † *Qui ne fait que naître*; because he is but twenty eight years old; but they have succeeded so ill with one || *Que ne songeait qu'à mourir*, that I think it will not pass for a very just exception; and our friend Count *Marsyn*, who is hot at hand, will I hope come to himself, and help to keep all things quiet in *Flanders* till *Don John's* arrival, which is now talked of, but I am not the easiest to believe it.

* Why do you kill me.

† Who is but just born.

|| Who thought of nothing but dying.

I beg your Lordship's favour or rather justice, both to esteem and use me as,

My Lord, your, &c.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, July 15. N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find that the great measure of his Majesty's grief upon *Madame's* death, was a little lessened by the satisfaction he had received; that it had passed without *that odious circumstance* which was at first so generally thought to have attended it; and of which I endeavour in my discourse here to allay the suspicions, since I see his Majesty is convinced; though it is a very difficult matter to succeed in, after so general a possession, which has been much increased by the Princess Dowager's curiosity, to ask her physicians opinions upon the relation transmitted hither to one of them from his brother, who is the *Dutch Secretary at Paris*; and pretends it came from Dr. *Chamberlain*, though something different from what he transmitted into *England*. However it happened, it had certainly all the circumstances to aggravate the affliction to his Majesty; which I am infinitely touched with, as well as with the sense of an accident in itself so deplorable: but it is a necessary tribute we pay for the continuance of our own lives, to bewail the frequent and sometimes untimely deaths of our friends. *Et levius fit patientiâ quicquid corrigere est nefas.*

The Baron d' *Isola* parted this day for *Brussels*; from whence he told me he would answer your Lordship's last letter, by which he pretends to have drawn confidence of his proposal's succeeding in *England* with the temper the *Dutch* had given it here: but he does not press the matter much at present, because he does not pretend

pretend that the Emperor's resolutions are fully taken upon it, nor will be till after the interview, which is, as he says, about this time contrived between the *Electors* of *Mentz* and *Triers*; where an Envoy from the *Emperor*, another from the Duke of *Lorrain*, and (as the *Baron* pretends) from some other *German* Princes, are to intervene, where the measures will be fully taken among them. In case his Majesty should fall into the thoughts of admitting that conjunction, as *Monsieur de Witt* tells me he has likewise some hopes given him from *Monsieur Van Beuninghen*; I think it were best however reserving the declaration of any such consent, until he were very well assured of the *Emperor's* and the other *German* Princes final and firm resolutions; which I know not whether we may be confident of learning for the *Baron d'Isola*, whose business seems to be rather first to draw out our points, and make them his ground for persuading his Court to agree with them; and thereby value himself both to his Master, the *German* Princes, and others, upon his own being the author of so great a negotiation: and perhaps, if his Majesty have a mind to see the bottom of it, and wishes it effected for common interest sake, he could not do better than to acquaint the *Electors* of *Mentz* privately with his thoughts upon it, and leave him to make use of that knowledge towards the preparing all pieces for the work. For I find that Prince must be the spring of all the motions that are made in it on the *German* side: so that all will depend upon his dispositions and conduct; which for my part I pretend not to understand yet in this affair: for though his late Envoy here visited me with great professions from his Master to his Majesty, and much civility to me; yet I fell into no sort of plain or confident discourse with him upon this matter; but finding him rather shy in it, I resolved not to be behind-hand with him

him in that point: and so we parted as wise as we met.

By this day's post I hear, the Count *de Monterey* is declared Governor of *Flanders* by way of *interim*; which yet may last longer than is thought of, according to the slowness or uncertainty of the *Spanish* councils, especially *Don John* having now finally refused to accept that charge. The Count *Marsyn*, I hear, says he will not obey a man *Qui ne fait que naitre*; because the Count *Monterey* is but twenty-eight years old, and therefore sets on foot already many *brigues* against him both in *Spain* and *Flanders*, which we here fear may produce very ill effects by increasing the disorders of *Flanders*, and thereby the temptations of *France*; tho' I hope our friend, who you know is something hot at hand, may yet come to himself: for methinks his exception against the new Governor is not very just, after having so long obeyed a man that thought of nothing but dying; and for ought I hear, was by that apprehension rendered unfitter for his post than any he could have met with to leave in it, without very great luck. They much persuade me here to make a journey to *Brussels* in this conjuncture, having heard me speak of it this summer, and of having his Majesty's leave, because they know I am acquainted with those at present upon the scene: I find their Deputies have no credit there, and come back only with dissatisfaction and complaints: I see nothing like to take me up here, when I have observed this assembly of the the *States of Holland*, and what they will do and promise further in the Prince's business, which a fortnight will determine, and therefore am well enough inclined to it: but should be much the more, if his Majesty should think fit to compliment the Count *Monterey* upon this occasion, and save the expence of any express person, by sending him a letter with me to be delivered as one that goes wholly *incognito*, and without any

any character, as was last year intended I should have done to the *Constable*: of which your Lordship can easily satisfy me.

I find the Prince has put off the thoughts of his journey till towards the sitting of the Parliament, upon which your Lordship has writ: by whose advice his Highness resolves to steer in the course of his affairs and motions relating to *England*.

I am ever,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, July 22. N. S. 1670.

I Am at once to acknowledge both yours of the 1st and 5th current, with the inclosed names of the *Scots* Ministers in the first; and in the other the last paper concerted with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* concerning the affair of *Surinam*.

Upon what concerns the *Scots* Ministers, I gave in yesterday a memorial to the *States*; upon which I received this day a message from them, expressing their readiness to perform all parts of their treaties with his Majesty; and desiring to know from me the several present abodes of the said persons, to the end they might direct their orders to them accordingly. But in this point I was not able to answer them at so short warning, having not yet upon enquiry heard of any of the three persons, excepting *Mackard*, who it seems lived some months since privately at *Utrecht*; but whether he continues still there or no, I am yet ignorant; and therefore I told the *States* Agent, that I would endeavour to inform myself of their abodes if I could; but

but would not take upon me to find them out in any certain place, since it was the custom and interest of such men to be as private as they could, and to shift often: and therefore I did not see any thing like to reach them but a publication of their names, with the *States* orders for their avoiding these dominions; which at some time and place or other could not fail of coming to them, and have the same effect that could be expected from a more particular direction.

I spoke with Monsieur *de Witt* this morning concerning your last paper of *Surinam*, which he perused, having not seen it before, nor heard any thing of it from Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*: and therefore he said the *States* could not fall upon the debate of it without knowing upon what grounds or considerations Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* might have made these changes since his last paper upon this subject, which they expected would have been final in this matter. Besides some point wherein he thought the style not so clear, he observed two main alterations in the substance: the first is, that our ships could not carry * *Des canons montés dans la riviere*: which, he said, imports that they might carry what cannon they please, so they were not mounted, which is not the business of an hour's time; and is contrary (as he said) to your first agreement with Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*. The second was concerning Major *Bannister*; whose landing is here positively allowed with the liberty of going to his own colony. Both which were (as he says) referred in Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s last paper to the Governor's discretion and judgment, whether it might be done without danger to the colony. Upon both these points we had large discourses, which ended with his assuring me, that he should be the last to raise any scruples upon either of them; but doubted that the *Zealanders* might thereupon (especially the last con-

* Cannons mounted in the river.

cerning Major *Bannister*) change their late protestations to clamours, which might occasion the *States-General* to make more difficulty in these changes, unless they were satisfied in the reasons of them by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s dispatches, to which all was of necessity to be referred.

I hear Monsieur *Lionne* entertained the *Dutch* Secretary at *Paris* with the news he had received from *Madrid*, of that Crown's joining this *State* with his Majesty and *Sweden* in the arbitrage; and at the same time with many reasons why his Master could not admit of it; though he said he had not yet communicated it to him: however the declared opinion of such a Minister seems to raise a strong prejudice in the case.

I am sorry the business of *Conventicles* gives you so much trouble, and could wish we were at a good end of all such controversies, which make his Majesty appear abroad to have so great and considerable a number of subjects that have not learned to obey him, and consequently make up no part of his strength, but seem rather to lessen it, and amuse people both at home and abroad with imaginations of changes. Yet Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* hath represented it hither as a business which his Majesty will easier master than you seem to be confident of: but their interest here may help them to believe as well as to desire it, upon the expectation of so many persons and stocks as will be brought over to them upon this occasion; and make, as they suppose, a considerable increase of their trade and diminution of ours. I am always,

S I R,

your, &c.

VOL. III.

M m m

To

To the Count de Monterey. Au Comte de Monterey.

Hague, July 22.

De la Haye, 22 Juill.

My Lord, N. S. 1670.

Monsieur, S. N. 1670.

HAVING long taken part in what regards the person and interests of your Excellency, and having heard of your advancement to so great a charge as that of Governor of the *Netherlands*, I would not fail of giving you joy, and letting you know the satisfaction I receive by it upon many accounts. For, since by the force of the present conjunctures, it will be often necessary for me in the post I am in, to have something or other to negotiate with the Governor of *Flanders*, about the common interests; I shall be very glad to enter into business where I have already entered into friendship, and to have to deal with a person who has already given me so many testimonies of his fair and prudent manner of transacting, as well as of his particular inclination for confirming the alliance between the Crowns of both our Masters, and for the advancement of their interests, wherein the welfare and repose of *Christendom* are concerned. And whereas the good order of affairs in *Flanders* is very important to his Majesty and the other parties of the triple alliance, as well as to the Crown of *Spain*; I will hope, that

AYANT pris depuis long tems beaucoup de part dans tout ce qui touche la personne & les intérêts de V. E. & venant d'apprendre qu'elle a été pourvû d'une charge aussi importante que l'est celle de Gouverneur de Pais-bas; je n'ay pas voulu manquer à luy donner el para bien, & temoigner la joye que j'en ay ressentie pour plusieurs raisons. Car puisque par l'enchainement des conjonctures presentes, & dans le poste où je suis, il me sera souvent necessaire de negotier, & d'avoir quelque chose à demêler avec le Gouverneur de Flandres, je seray fort aise d'avoir une liaison d'affaires avec celuy avec qui j'ay déjà des liaisons d'amitié; je me felicite d'avoir à faire à un sage dispensateur qui m'a déjà donné tant de marques de sa noble & judicieuse maniere d'agir. Avec quelle joye n'ay je point vu votre penchant particulier à affermir l'alliance entre les deux Couronnes de nos Maîtres, & votre inclination à avancer des intérêts qui ne tendent aujourd'huy qu'à procurer le bonheur & le repos de la Chrétienté. Comme sa Majesté & ceux de la triple alliance ont fort à cœur l'estat des affaires de Flandres, aussi bien que la Couronne d'Espagne; je me fais un plaisir de penser que par la bonne conduite de

that by your Excellency's conduct some good order may be taken for settling the affairs of the militia of this country: and in the mean time, an end be put to the complaints and miseries of the inhabitants, since a government is never well established but in the hearts of the subjects; nor so hard to be shaken, as when the generality of the people, as well as the nobility, finds no interest in the change. I doubt not but your Excellency proposes these ends, and will succeed in them, because you are too generous to mix with them your own passions or particular interests, which will not be less glorious to you, than profitable and happy to *Christendom*. And besides the advantage Spain will make by your Excellency's good conduct, they will save themselves the trouble to think of a new Governor, or to end an interim so advantageous to them.

My best wishes shall not be wanting to your Excellency, nor my services upon all occasions where they shall be necessary; for no man is with more esteem and truth than I am,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most humble

and most affectionate servant.

de V. E. on fera enfin quelque bon reglement touchant la milice de Pais-bas, & qu'en même tems on mettrâ fin aux plaintes & aux miseres des habitans; puis qu'un gouvernement n'est jamais si sûrement établi, que lors qu'il a son siege dans le cœur des sujets. Rien n'est si difficile à ebranler qu'un état où la multitude du peuple aussi bien que la noblesse n'apperçoit point d'avantage dans un changement. Je ne doute point que V. E. ne se soit déjà proposé toutes ces fins, & qu'elle n'y reussisse, ayant une elevation d'ame assez grande pour n'y laisser point entrer ses propres passions, ni aucun intérêt personnel. Une telle conduite ne luy sera pas moins glorieuse qu'elle sera utile pour la Chrétienté, & outre le profit que l'Espagne en tirera, elle luy sauvera le soin de songer à un nouveau Gouverneur, & luy fera prendre le parti de prolonger un si heureux interim.

Mes vœux ne manqueront jamais à V. E. & mes services seconderont mes vœux, toutes les fois qu'ils luy seront necessaires; car il n'y a personne qui soit avec plus d'estime & de verité que je suis,

Monfieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, July 29. N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge one from you of the 12th, and hope the *Dutch* Captain you therein mention, is before this time arrived, and will prove what you desire him, and thereby deserve the encouragement you intend him. I know not why Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* should at present receive the proposition concerning the Emperor's admision; since Monsieur——confesses he thinks there will be difficulties made in it by the Emperor himself; who has not yet declared himself to the Elector of *Mentz*, nor I believe, to the Baron *d'Isola* neither; though it be true what you observe, that it ought to be authentickly demanded on that side.

I hear no hopes at all from *France* of admitting this *State* into a part of the arbitrage: so that if *Spain* persists in the demand of it, as *France* no doubt will do in the refusal, we shall be as much to seek in the end of the year, as we were in the beginning.

For what concerns the commands I received about the three *Scots* Ministers; though I cannot find out their present abodes, yet I question not to obtain what is desired against them: there can only be one scruple, if these *States* will adhere strictly to the treaty, which is the authentic knowledge of their being declared rebels by his Majesty; which I should be glad to know, if it be so; though I shall in the mean time pursue it, as if I expected no farther informations.

I have so far pressed them here upon assenting to the last paper transmitted by Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* upon the affair of *Surinam*, that the *States* of *Holland* have agreed to it, and appointed three persons to endeavour either to dispose or to quiet the *Zealanders*, and to pass it in the *States General*: and I hope it will succeed, the town of *Amsterdam* concerning themselves particularly in

in it for the support of Monsieur *Van Beuningben's* credit.

The assembly of the *States of Holland* will separate on *Friday* next, and are yet likely to agree in the long agitated impositions upon the *French* commodities before they part; the town of *Rotterdam* having (as I hear) this day at length assented; but with condition that it shall not be executed till after Monsieur *de Groot's* arrival in *France*, and account from thence whether that King be disposed to dispense with the late rigours there used for discouraging all *Dutch* commodities.

Tho' nothing has been yet mentioned this assembly concerning the Prince; yet I am made believe they may, before they part, settle a pension upon him, though a small one of twenty-four or thirty thousand franks a year, being only in consideration of his session in the council of State. I am always,

S I R,

your, &c.

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 12. N. S. 1670.

SINCE my last, the States Agent brought me a copy of the letter they had agreed on to the Governor of *Surinam*; which, I suppose, they delayed till about the time of their dispatching it away, because they knew I would except against the limitation given to Major *Bannister's* landing; tho' they assure me, the Governor shall have orders not to hinder it without very evident knowledge of the ill-consequence it may have upon the peace of the colony; and that the *Zealanders* were so sharp in this point, that they could not pass it in any other form. I have likewise, since my last, been assured, from the several Ministers

sters here, that the orders I desire concerning the *Scots* Ministers would be granted: but, that the thing being proposed to the States of *Holland* then assembled, whom it most concerned, the persons being supposed to be in their province; several of the Deputies declared they would not resolve without communicating it first to their towns, among whom those of *Rotterdam* were the chief: but their Pensioner Monsieur de *Groot*, upon his departure from hence last *Saturday* towards *France*, assured me of his endeavours to clear all scruples in it before he left that town.

I have since received your commands in one of the 24th past concerning * *Coronet Joyce*, to which I can yet make no return, Monsieur de *Witt* being out of town, and not expected till to-morrow: and I must first break it to him, by whom I can best know what I may hope for from the States in it; and withal contrive how it may pass with such circumstances of secrecy, that the noise may not go before the shot. By the next I hope to give you an account how I am likely to succeed; and in the mean time will only assure you of my utmost diligence in a matter wherein you say his Majesty is so much concerned.

I doubt not but a great part of Monsieur *Van Beuninghen's* errand was to dispose us towards the admission of the Emperor, and therefore wonder not at his enforcing that proposition: but yet, sure the ground of his journey was the desire of finding some temper in the business of the *East-India* trade, wherein I am very glad you hope for satisfaction from him; I mean upon that single article which has so long stopped the marine treaty, and foiled me absolutely in the pursuit of it. For the other point, I know not yet whether Monsieur de *Witt* has received any new account from *Mentz* of the Emperor's intentions; nor how much it

* Mentioned in the histories of *K. Charles I.* for removing that King by force from *Holmeby*.

it signifies what the Baron d'Isola tells me, that the Imperial Minister there, has declared his Master's resolution, of referring himself wholly to that Elector for the conduct and conclusion of that affair: and that the said Elector hath declared his judgment of its being both fit and necessary; but that as to the proposition of forces to be furnished by the several Princes, he could not proceed to ascertain it, without more particular directions from the Emperor, tho' his Minister there pressed him to it. All which seems to me a very general and loose account for his Majesty to proceed upon; and to have something of the Baron d'Isola in it, as well as of the negotiations of Mentz: and yet this is all the light I can get at present; nor do I well know where to expect better, the State's Envoy having already left that place.

I shall not fail of performing all the offices you please to enjoin me towards the preserving our mutual confidence in this conjuncture; which I have endeavoured in all my discourses here upon the Duke of Buckingham's journey into France, since I first heard of it: and I am confident to have succeeded with the most rational and intelligent. For common authors, they are not to be dealt with, being too many and too credulous to be reasoned with upon such points; the best is, their credit is of as little weight as their belief, and at last truth will ever out.

I hear the Count Molina parted from Madrid upon his way through France into England about sixteen days since; so as he ought to be by this time well advanced. The Spanish Ambassador is likewise upon his return from Brussels hither; which, with other marks, confirms me in the opinion of the Count de Monterey's being likely to find a long interim in the government of Flanders.

I have nothing more to increase your trouble, besides the profession of my being always,

S I R,

Your, &c.

To Mr. Williamson.

S I R,

Hague, Aug. 12. N. S. 1670.

I AM to acknowledge the favour I have lately received of two from you of the 22d and 26th past, with the advices you were pleased to give me of what passes with you in my Lord *Arlington's* absence; and know not what better return I can make you from so barren a scene as this is at present, but continuing the orders I gave upon Mr. *Blaitbwait's* going out of town, for all the prints as well as the papers of occurrences, to be constantly transmitted to you by my other Secretary Mr. *Downton*; who tells me he does not fail you in these points, no more than I shall do in any other wherein I can serve you here.

I thought, in a time of so little motion or talk, to have used his Majesty's leave for a short journey into *Flanders*; but some small matter still arises to keep me from being wholly idle; and, among others, the shadow of the *Surinam* business haunts me still, tho' Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* assured me he would lay it upon his going over. I should be glad to know if you find him as eloquent in a court as they do in an assembly of States here, and that he proves as good at concluding as at reasoning.

I know, to a person of so much business, an empty letter is an interruption, therefore will add nothing to this, but the profession of being,

S I R,

Your most humble servant.

To

To Sir John Trevor.

S I R, Hague, Aug. 15. N. S. 1670.

UPON Tuesday night Monsieur de Witt returned to town; and the next morning I went to him upon the affair wherewith you had charged me in your two last letters, whereof that of the 29th past gave me notice of the yacht's being dispatched away. I related the occasion to Monsieur de Witt, and his Majesty's desire upon it, as near as I could in the manner and terms you had imparted them to me; adding of my own whatever I could think of, concerning the interest of this State in such compliance to his Majesty, especially where his person was concerned; and how fit it was for them to pass over the want of small circumstances and obligations of treaties, in matters of so great importance to a King so nearly allied to them, and in whose safety and quiet they were so deeply concerned. He allowed all this latter part of my discourse, and for the matter itself which I desired, he told me, that whatever the States were obliged to by the treaty, they had power to enjoin the execution of, because every province had already given their consent to it: but in other matters the States General had no power upon any point wherein the jurisdiction of a particular province was concerned: the union consisting of seven provinces, whose sovereignty remained still intire to each of them. That for this reason it was impossible to seize upon a man residing in Holland, and send him over to his Majesty, by any other power but that of the States of Holland, who were not now assembled. That the seizing of those criminals by Sir George Downing, happened to have been desired at a time when the States were assembled, who gave their general consent to it: whereas if the town wherein they were, had dissented and stood upon their privileges,

it had not been in the authority of the *States of Holland* themselves to command it.

After my expostulations upon these forms in their government, which made it much harder to treat with them, than they found it to treat with other Princes; and Monsieur *de Witt's* deduction of the several sovereignties of their provinces, and privileges of their towns, from their original, as well as the framing them into an *union* (rather than a government) for their common defence: we fell at last into the consideration of what could be done upon the present business, since we had found what could not. And he told me with great professions of his own desire to see it succeed, that if I put in a memorial to the *States-General*, besides the danger of having it grow public, I should lose just so much time; whereas all they could do would be but to recommend it to the Committee *de Raedt* of *Holland*, to dispose the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to seize upon the person I desired, and keep him safely guarded, without suffering any approach to him but by my order, until the next Assembly of the *States of Holland*, which will be about a month hence: and this, he said, the Committee might do of themselves; and he hoped they would, upon my writing a letter to the President, especially if I would take the pains to speak beforehand to the several members of it: and in this he promised me his assistance; and withal, that if the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* would seize and guard him till the Assembly of the *States of Holland*, he would then use all his endeavours to dispose the said Assembly to send him over to the King, though he doubted much difficulty in it; and that the town of *Rotterdam* would never consent to it, without an act from his Majesty to the *States*, that he should be remanded to their town after he had been examined: for without such an act, he said, the town of *Dort* had absolutely refused to

send

send a person within their jurisdiction to the States themselves.

Upon all these discourses I resolved as the best I could do, to speak severally that evening with all the members of the Committee *de Raedt* that were in town, which I did as late as I could, so as to give the least time for the matter's taking vent. They all agreed in the same account of the constitution of their government, which Monsieur *de Witt* had given me, and assured me they would act as far in this business as they could do, if it came to them from the *States-General*; but withal agreed they could do no more than recommend it to the Magistrates of *Rotterdam*, upon whose resolutions it would wholly depend. While I was late in these visits on *Wednesday* night, Captain *Harris* came to my house, and told me of the yacht's being come to the *Briell*, but so ill used by the storms she had met with, that she would need some repair before she could go to sea again; which I was very sorry to hear, considering how ill her voyage was likely to succeed, and that I had no hopes of sending her back with her intended charge. The next morning being *Tuesday*, I sent my letters to the President just upon his going into the Committee: and within an hour after, Monsieur *de Witt*'s brother who is a member of it, came to me, and told me, that they had written a letter to the Magistrates of *Rotterdam* to the same purpose I desired, and with all the earnestness they could, and to enforce it the more upon them, had appointed him and Monsieur *Voorburgh*, another member of the said Committee, to go immediately thither, and to dispose the Magistrates all they could to the effectual execution of what was desired.

I acknowledged the care and compliance of the Committee; and because I knew all depended upon suddenness and secrecy, and that I had been assured the day before of *Joyce*'s being in town, I told him that I

was

was resolved to go myself, but as privately as I could, and be there as soon as they: and while they were disposing the Magistrates of the town, I would endeavour to set the fellow, so as to be sure of him when the scout should have orders to apprehend him. After this I went straight to *Rotterdam*, and got privately into an house within three doors of *Joyce's*: and had not been there an hour, when the agent I employed to find him out, had met with him in the street, and staid with him till he saw him go home to his own house. I sent immediately to my two commissioners, (who I heard had arrived before me in town) to give them notice of it, in hopes of their being ready for me: but I found they were at the *town-house*, where the Magistrates had been assembled ever since their arrival; and they could not be spoke with by the person I sent to them till about an hour after: and then they told him, that they had been dealing all that time with the Magistrates, who made great difficulties in the business, and they could not yet give me account what they would resolve, but as soon as they could, they would come themselves and give me notice of it. After this I waited with great spight and impatience till about five hours after the Magistrates had been first assembled: the greatest part of which time I could not have failed of my prize, if they had sent their officers. But after seven o'clock at night, my two commissioners came to me and told me they had never seen the Magistrates in greater perplexity, which had kept them so many hours unresolved what to do: that they said, it was absolutely against the privileges of their town, to seize upon any man without a particular charge being ready against him: that this man they heard, was a kind of mad extravagant fellow: that having long resided in their town, he could be guilty of nothing towards his Majesty, unless it were of words, which

which people were very free of in their country; and amounted not to a crime that was thought to deserve imprisonment. That they should have been glad to know the words he was accused of; and that if they should seize a man without any particular charge, the surety and protection of their town would be discredited, upon which much of their trade depended: and that they were confident, no town in *Holland* would do what was desired of them. That however for his Majesty's sake, and at the instance of the two commissioners, they had at last resolved he should be seized on, and that I should have the examining of him if I pleased: but that if I could exhibit no particular charge against him, and he did not make himself guilty by his own confession, they must release him the next day. I replied plainly, this was just nothing to the purpose, and was only so much noise without any effect: that the King's demand was to have him sent over, and that since that could not be done without the Assembly of the *States of Holland*, my desire was to have the man seized upon and kept till the said Assembly, or at least till I received farther orders from his Majesty; and less than this was nothing at all. Hereupon one of the commissioners seeing how much I stomached this dealing, told me, the Magistrates had not absolutely said they would release him: but the other replied, that it was true they had not absolutely said it, but that he must confess he found it was their intention. For my part, I thought it was best at a venture to be once seized on him if I could, and try whether I could get any thing out of him upon his first surprize, and leave the rest to farther endeavours; and therefore I desired however that he might be seized. They told me; the Magistrates doubted he was not in town, but when I had taken off that by evidence to the contrary, they said the Magistrates did not know the man, nor any

of their officers. But if I could send some body that did to the town-house, they would send their *scout* with him to execute what I desired. This I presently did; but the person I sent found the Magistrates still unresolved, and in very ill humour about it; and saying besides a great deal of what the two commissioners had before told me, that in case *Jayce* had said he would kill the *Burgomasters*, or burn their town, yet they should never have thought of imprisoning him for it: and that it was hard to be put upon things so contrary to their privileges and their customs, as well as their interests. My agent finding these difficulties, desired leave for me to seize him with such persons as I could find myself: but this they said could by no means be done; and if it should be attempted without the officers of the town, the *Burghers* would certainly rise and rescue him. With these kind of debates they put him off about an hour longer, making him twice withdraw and come in again to them: but at last, when it was grown a very dark night, they gave order to their *scout* to go with him, and apprehend the fellow. Hereupon they went and searched his house, but without finding him, and two other of his usual haunts with the same success, but they found evident marks of his having had notice given him of his danger: for one at his house said, he wondered I would search for a mad man; and that if he were assured I desired only to examine him, perhaps it might be done; but that for the present he knew not where he was, having taken the key of his back door, where he seemed to believe he was gone out. By all that had happened, I found plainly the Magistrates of the town had no intention the thing should be done; and began to be assured of what I had always doubted, that such a pack of rascals of so many sorts as had been long nested in that town (more indeed than in all the rest of

of Holland) had not made this choice without some good assurances from the Magistrates of being protected there. I found as plainly that without their resolute and fair dealing in it, it was to no purpose for me to endeavour it; and that my being there was already known, and had given such an alarm, that some of *Joyce's* crew were walking continually up and down the streets thereabouts ever since it grew dark, and others of them standing at his door and his windows; and therefore seeing that till this alarm was over there was no hopes of finding my game; I resolved to speak with the presiding *Burgomaster*, and engage him as far as I could for the effectual pursuit of the business; and make him see I understood well enough how it failed, and where it depended, and so leave the town before morning to give the fellow the more security. I sent to the *Burgomaster* about ten o'clock at night, desiring not to have it taken notice of when I spoke with him: but he sent me his excuse by saying he was in bed: after which I sent for the *scout*; and when he had confessed he had orders to take the fellow, and that he knew him very well (contrary to what the Magistrates had pretended) I said all that I could possibly to engage him in the pursuit of it; and told him, as the best argument, that I would give him myself a hundred ducatoons as soon as ever it was done, besides representing the diligence so to his Majesty, as that he might expect a greater gratuity. And for the better effecting of it, I desired him to get me the keys of the town-gate that was near me, resolving then to go out of town, and to pass with torches before *Joyce's* door, that so he might see I was gone, and with me the persons I had employed in this business, and thereby grow secure of any farther danger for that night. And I desired him that about an hour or two after, he would once more search for him at his house, and other places where he used. All this he promised very fairly,
and

and all other diligences in it for the future ; but to say the truth, in such a manner, that I perceived plainly the fellow had his instructions given him after another fashion, from those that had more to do with him than I. And though I have expected some news from him all this day, I yet hear nothing. Since my coming home I have spoken again with Monsieur *de Witt*, who professes to be very sorry for my ill success ; says I did prudently in coming away after my first attempt failed : that he knows not what to judge of the Magistrates proceeding till the return of the commissioners ; and hopes something may be yet done by them, because they were not come back this afternoon. He says he writ two letters himself to the Magistrates, besides that of the Committee, to dispose them more ; because he knew all would depend upon their hearty or faint proceeding in it, and assures me of all his farther endeavours.

For the business of *Surinam* ; they will not believe their last letter should not satisfy, since Monsieur *Van Beuninghen* had represented that *Bannister's* absolute permission was a thing desired by you, but not insisted upon : so that, if it be farther pressed, it must be by your orders after you received the last papers.

I ask your pardon for any ill digestion of this letter, as well as for writing it in another hand, which my eyes force me to ; and may all be attributed to the want of sleep these two nights last past. I am however,

SIR,

Your, &c.

To

*To my Lord Keeper.**My Lord,**Hague, Aug. 19. N. S. 1670.*

I Have lately received the honour of one from your Lordship of the 26th past; by which I was very sorry to find that any occasions had at all withdrawn your Lordship's usual concurrence in all great affairs, wherein his Majesty uses the advice as well as labours of his Ministers. For the steadiness of your Lordship's judgment, and directness of your application to his Majesty's and the kingdom's honour and advantage in all your counsels, gave me at my last coming over hither much confidence in the successful course of our affairs both at home and abroad: and the more your Lordship estranges yourself from them, the more my confidence in that kind is like to abate; because I am apt to think it not only an *ill thing*, but an *ill sign* too.

I am glad to receive your Lordship's opinion concerning the continuance of our measures abroad, because I see not at present where we can take better: and I the more need some such encouragements as your opinion gives me; because, to say the truth, I should not be very apt to concur with you in it from the observation I can make from hence of several other circumstances: however, nothing ought to discourage such public hearts as your Lordship from contributing all they can to the firmness of such counsels, as they esteem most just and safe at least, if we are not in condition to think so far as glorious:

*Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Detulit in melius—*

We have nothing new nor material in present agitation upon this scene. The last little commission I had

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was as troublesome as unsuccessful; and proceeded certainly in the manner of it, from want of knowing or considering the constitutions of this government; which makes me confident your Lordship had no part in directing in it, no more than my Lord *Arlington*, who was out of town.

I wish your Lordship perfect health and satisfaction; and that when neither of these make it necessary, you may not be too much at your country-house. Tho' in all places I shall be ever with equal constancy and truth,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Duke of Buckingham.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 21. N. S. 1670.

AS your Grace will, I hope, meet with many new entertainments on this side the water; so you must, I fear, be content with some new troubles: for both usually happen upon all changes. I wish your Grace all that can be of the first, and should not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with you upon your happy arrival at *Paris*.

From so little and so barren a scene as this is at present, I cannot offer at informing your Grace of any thing; especially, since men expect here to receive all their material informations from your motions where you now are, and from what shall succeed them at your return. But to leave these people in their *doubtful and mystical reflexions*; I shall not interrupt either your Grace's business or leisure with any thing but what

what is plain and certain ; for nothing is more so,
than that I am with equal passion and truth,

My Lord,

Your Graces most obedient

and most humble servant.

To my Lord Falconbridge.

My Lord,

Hague, Aug. 22. N. S. 1670.

I Was very glad to find by your Lordship's of the first current, that the suddenness of your return therein mentioned, was owing to the dispatch of your business in *Italy*, and to the care of your health ; and consequently, that you receive from it both honour and satisfaction. I shall esteem it a great deal of both to me, if you continue so favourable intentions as you express, of taking this place in your way ; where your Lordship may promise yourself whatever my services can be worth to you. I expect my Lord of *Essex* with my Lady here every day ; unless they have changed their design since their arrival at *Hamburg*, where they came about ten days since, after my Lord's having dispatched all his affairs in the *Danish* Court. Our treaty with *Spain* for regulating the affairs of the *Indies*, came signed to *London* last week, from whence I doubt not, it will be suddenly remitted with its ratification. All here is in great quiet and silence, and like to continue so, unless *France* furnish us with some new discourse.

I have hitherto writ by Mr. *Perwick's* conveyance, but chuse to send this by Sir *John Finch's*, who is like to be a nearer observer of your motions. But I will not give your Lordship a long and empty interruption, which

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which has little else to bear it out besides the profession of my being,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most

faithful humble servant.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

Hague, Aug. 25.

S I R, N. S. 1670.

I Received almost at the same time the honour of two letters from your most Serene Highness; one of *March* the 31st, with an entire vintage of the finest wines of *Italy*; and the other of the 5th instant, with your Highness's condolences upon the death of *Madame*. The great delay of the ship that brought the wine, and your Highness's great dispatch to make a compliment so sad and so obliging, were the cause that two letters of so different date, arrived almost together. For I have much reason to commend the diligence of *Monsieur Ferroni*, in conveying me all your Highness's favours. I find the wines admirable, and seeming to resemble their Prince, in having lost nothing of their natural taste or goodness, by the length of their voyage, or the extreams of heats or colds.

And

De la Haye, le 25

Monsieur, Aout, S. N. 1670.

J'AY quasi reçu en même tems les deux lettres que *V. A. Sme*, m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire; l'une datée du 31 de *Mars*, & accompagnée des plus riches vendanges d'*Italie*, je veux dire, de ses vins les plus exquis; & l'autre du 5 du courant, avec les complimens de condoléance de *V. A.* sur la mort de *Madame*. Le long retardement du navire qui a apporté les vins, & l'empressement de *V. A.* à me faire un compliment aussi triste qu'obligeant: ces deux choses ont fait, que deux lettres si fort éloignées par leurs dates, se sont presque rencontrées à leur arrivée. Car j'ay beaucoup à me louer de la diligence avec laquelle *Monsieur Ferroni* tâche de me faire tenir les faveurs de *V. A.* Les vins m'ont paru excellens; & si j'osois, je dirois volontiers, qu'ils semblent tenir quelque chose du Prince qui les envoie; les changemens de climat, la longueur & les traverses du transport

And herein I am more obliged to your Highness than you imagine, not only for having made me taste the delights of so fine a climate in so miserable a one as this; but also for having by the same means given me the talent of a drinker, a quality I wanted very much to acquit myself of an ambassy in *Holland*.

I cannot tell whether your Highness by your moving expressions upon the deplorable death of *Madame*, has more discovered the beauty of your wit, or the greatness of your affection to the King my Master: therefore I hope your Highness will not take it ill that I have sent his Majesty a copy of your last letter, by which you have given such sensible proofs of the part you take in whatever happens to the Royal family.

The *States General* are very much surprized at the news brought them this day from *France*, in an express sent them from their Minister at *Paris*, which assures them of the march of the *French* troops towards the frontier, to the number of 30000, where they are to rendezvous at *Peronne*: but it is not yet known whether

transport, la rigueur de l'hyver, ni les ardeurs de l'été, ne luy ont rien fait perdre de sa seve & de sa force; & cela, ne fournit il pas un embleme assez naturel de la personne de *V. A.* J'ay au reste, plus d'obligation à *V. A.* quelle ne pense, sur son present de vins, non seulement parce qu'elle m'a fait gouter des delices du plus beau país du monde, sous le climat le plus triste; mais sur tout, parce que son present m'a excité à devenir beuveur, qualité qui me manquoit absolument, & qui est pourtant necessaire pour si bien tirer d'une ambassade en *Hollande*.

Je ne say ce que *V. A.* fait le plus paroître dans les expressions si touchantes dont sa lettre est remplie, ou la fecondité de son esprit, ou sa tendresse de cœur pour le Roy mon Maître. C'est pourquoy j'espere que *V. A.* ne me sçaura pas mauvais gré d'avoir envoyé à sa Majesté la copie de sa dernière lettre, dans laquelle elle a donné des marques si tendres de la part qu'elle prend aux evenemens de la famille Royale.

Les *Etats Generaux* paroissent surpris de la nouvelle que leur a apporté un exprés depeché par leur Ministre à *Paris*, qui vient de leur apprendre la marche des troupes *Françoises* au nombre de 30,000 hommes; elles s'avancent vers les frontieres, & leur rendez-vous est marqué à *Peronne*. On ne decide point encore sur le dessein de cette marche,

ther their design be upon *Flanders*, or this country, or whether they project any other measures. However the alarm is here so great, that they have immediately resolved to continue six thousand men, which they were just going to disband: they have also ordered the council of State to compute what forces and provisions they shall judge necessary in case of a rupture with *France*: and have dispatched a boat from *Scheveling* to *England* with orders to *Monsieur Van Beuningen* (who is upon the point of departing) to stay till farther orders from the *States*.

For myself, I know not what to judge of these appearances; I shall ever complain of any events that are like to endanger the quiet of *Christendom*, to which I have for some time (under the orders of his Majesty) dedicated all my cares. And without doubt, if the war opens at present, great conjunctures will arise, whereof perhaps there will be reason to give your Highness joy, not for being out of the noise of them;

Et on ignore si elle regarde ou la Flandre ou ce Pais icy; Et on ne sait point si l'approche de ces troupes ne tend point à cacher les veritables desseins; Et à mieux reussir dans les mesures qu'on a prises. Quoy qu'il en soit, l'alarme est icy à un tel point, qu'on a pris sur le champ la resolution de continuer la solde à six mille hommes qu'on alloit congédier; que la conceil d'Etat a ordonné de dresser promptement un etat de guerre, qui comprît tant les levées d'hommes, que les munitions de bouche Et de guerre, qui seroient estimées necessaires, en cas de rupture avec la France. Qu'enfin on a fait partir de Schevelin en diligence une barque pour l'Angleterre, avec ordre d'y retenir Monsieur Van Beuningen qui estoit sur le point d'en partir.

Pour moy, je ne say ce que je dois juger sur toutes ces apparences; je gemiray toujours sur les evenemens qui pourront mettre en danger le repos de la *Chrétienté*, qui depuis un tems, Et sous les ordres de sa Majesté, a été l'objet de mes veilles Et de mes soins. Et sans doute que si la guerre recommence, elle va donner lieu à des grands evenemens, desquels on aura peut être à donner el para bien à *V. A.* non comme éloignée de la tempête, mais

them; but because great Princes only wait for great occasions. I am,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

mais parce que les grands Princes ne respirent que les grands occasions. Je supplie V. A. de m'en offrir toujours, par lesquelles je puisse luy marquer avec combien de passion & de verité je seray toute ma vie,

Monfieur,

De V. A. Sme, &c.

To the Procurator of the Court of Holland, upon the rights of Ambassadors.

Au Procureur de la Cour d'Hollande, sur les droits des Ambassadeurs.

ONE of my Secretaries having given me a copy of a paper signed by you, F. de Brusis, which was brought to my house, and given to one of my servants; by which paper you summon one N. Watt, valet or footman to the English Ambassador to appear before the Court of Holland: by the title you give the said N. Watt, you make it plain, that you believe him to be actually in my house and service. Upon which I have thought good to tell you that I look upon you as an insolent fellow, for daring to bring such a paper into my house; and that I do not intend any of my servants shall be looked upon as subject to the jurisdiction of any court of this country, or of any other beside those of the King my Master: and if any of them offends against the laws, complaint

UN de mes Secretaires m'ayant fait voir la copie d'un billet signé par vous F. de Brusis, qui a été porté dans ma maison, & donné à quelqu'un de mes gens, & par lequel billet vous summonnez un certain N. Watt, valet ou lacquais de l'Ambassadeur d'Angleterre, de comparoître devant la Cour d'Hollande. Par la qualité que vous donnez au dit N. Watt, vous faites bien connoître, que vous le croyez actuellement dans ma maison & attaché à mon service; là dessus j'ay trouvé bon de vous dire que je vous tiens pour un insolent, d'avoir osé porter un tel billet dans ma maison; & que je ne pretens point, qu'aucun de mes gens soit regardé comme relevant de la jurisdiction d'aucune cour dans ce pais icy, ni d'aucune autre que de celles du Roy mon Maître: que si quelqu'un d'eux commet quelque chose contre les loix, on n'a

plaint must be made to me, that I may either order justice to be done, or deliver the offender of my own accord to be punished by the law of the place, having beforehand dismissed him from my service. Therefore I do not design to be exposed to such an insolence as this that you have committed against me, in treating me like one of your burghers, as well by the paper left in my house, as by the ringing of the bell, whereof you make mention. What I hear say, you may let your Masters know from me, by whose order you pretend to have acted. Besides, for their farther information, let them know that while I reside in this country, I will never suffer the rights and privileges so long granted to Ambassadors by the *Law of Nations*, and hitherto observed and respected by all Princes of *Christendom*, to be violated, or any way infringed in this country in my person, under pretence of any particular sovereignty of a Province or privilege of a city, in a commonwealth where I have the honour to serve a King in quality of his Ambassador.

n'a qu'à m'en faire de plaintes, afin que j'en fasse faire la justice, ou que je le livre de mon propre gré à la rigueur des loix du pais, l'ayant prealablement congédié, & chassé de ma maison. Je ne pretens donc pas être exposé à une insolence pareille à celle que vous venez de commettre contre moy, en me traitant comme un de vos bourgeois, tant par le billet laissé chez moy, que par le son de la cloche dont vous faites mention. Tout ce que je viens de vous dire, vous pourrez le dire de ma part à vous Maitres, par l'ordre des quels vous dites avoir agi. Au surplus, & pour leur plus grand éclaircissement, qu'ils sachent, que durant mon séjour en ce pais, je ne souffriray jamais que le droits & les privileges, accordez depuis si long tems Jure Gentium aux Ambassadeurs, & jusqu'icy observez & respectez dans les etats de tous le Princes de la Chrétienté, soient violez, ou le moins du monde alterez en ma personne en ce pais, sous les pretextes d'aucune souveraineté particuliere d'une province, ou le privilege de quelque ville, dans une republique où j'ay l'honneur de servir un grand Roy en qualité de son Ambassadeur.

To Monsieur — upon the death of his daughter.

Hague, Sept. 1.

S I R, N. S. 1670.

Yesterday late in the evening I received an account of your loss; and can assure you that my wife, my sister and myself, were so sensibly afflicted at it, that if it were possible grief could be lessened by being communicated with real friends, upon these sad occasions, you would have immediately found some consolation in yours; I must confess, your grief is lawful enough, and founded not only upon the dictates of nature, but upon the merits of her you lament; so that to pretend to comfort you by other considerations than those which your prudence, and above all, which your piety would suggest, would be to attempt an unprofitable work. God has pleased to impose this tribute for the continuance of our lives, often to lament the death of our friends. We must learn to submit and resign to his will, which is the wisest and most Christian part we can follow. To this I shall add, that the desires of your friends who yet remain, and your care of their interests, do demand from you that you will preserve yourself

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to

Au Monsieur — sur la mort de sa fille.

De la Haye, 1 Sept.

Monsieur, S. N. 1670.

On me donna avis hier au soir bien tard, de la parte que vous venez de faire, & je puis vous assurer, que moi, ma femme, & ma soeur en avons été si sensiblement touchés, que si l'affliction pouvoit être diminuée par celle qui se communique aux véritables amis en ces tristes occasions, vous auriez sur le champ éprouvé du soulagement en la vôtre. Il le faut avouer, votre douleur est bien legitime, elle est fondée non seulement sur les devoirs de la nature, mais encore sur le mérite de la personne que vous pleurez. Ainsi pretendre vous consoler par d'autres reflexions que celles que votre prudence, et sur tout votre piété vous suggereront, ce seroit tenter une chose inutile. Il a plu à Dieu imposer une peine durant le cours de nôtre vie, qui est l'obligation de pleurer frequemment sur la mort de nos proches & de nos amis. Il faut se soumettre, & apprendere à se resigner a sa volonté; c'est là l'unique bon parti, & le seul qui soit & véritablement sage, & véritablement Crétien. J'ajouteray à cela, que le prieres des amis qui vous restent encore, & le soin de leurs

P p p

intérêts,

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to them. Among these, there
is none who is more than I,

S I R,

Your most humble and
most affectionate servant.

*intérêts, demandent que vous
vous conserviez. Parmi ceux
qui prennent la qualité de vos a-
mis, il n'y a personne qui vous
soit plus acquis que,*

Monfieur,

Vôtre tres humble &

tres affectionné Serviteur.

To my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept. 2. N. S. 1670.

I MUST in the first place rejoice with your Lord-
ship upon your return to town, and to the exercise
of your usual cares, which are so necessary to the ser-
vice of his Majesty and the kingdom, that I cannot
doubt any thing is meant us so ill as the danger of your
Lordship's health; though I find by your last of the
19th past, that you had fallen into some indisposition
upon your return: but the length as well as the
clearness of all your Lordship's discourses in it, give
me the confidence that it was already past.

I have understood from Monsieur *de Witt*, the sum
of all Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*'s discourses with his
Majesty upon the same subject as those with your
Lordship, of which you were pleased to give me ac-
count: and do not find that Monsieur *Van Beuninghen*
has failed of receiving all the assurances from the King
that he could wish, concerning the negotiations of the
Duke of *Buckingham* in *France*: for he has not only
transmitted them to the *States* as he received them at
Court, but added likewise his own opinion upon them:
that as far as human appearances will go, he has all the
reason that can be to believe, that nothing has been
treated of by the said Duke, nor was ever intended

to

to be so in the *French* Court to the prejudice of his Majesty's alliances here. For the rest, they take it as well as they can, that they see no advance made in the propositions of the *Emperor's* joining with those of the *triple alliance* in the guaranty of the peace: which I suppose touches them so much the more by the news brought this day to the *States*; which I am now to give your Lordship an account of, as of the way I received it.

Just as I was sitting down this day to dinner, the *States* Agent came to me, desiring that their Commissioners might have the liberty to speak with me, tho' at that unusual hour, being of a matter newly come to them, and of very great importance. I consented; and thereupon Monsieur *de Witt* came in the head of the other Commissioners, and told me that the *States* had newly received certain advice from *France* of the date of the 29th past, that the Chevalier *de la Fourrille*, who had been dispatched secretly from Court some days before the breaking up of the camp at *St. Germain*, and with the troops quartered near the borders of *Lorrain*, made a sudden march into that country, and seized upon the city of *Nancy*; and that by so unexpected and quick an attempt that he failed very little of surprizing the person of the Duke, and had taken the Dutchess. That the Duke escaping, had retired to a small but strong place called *Bidsch*; where he busied himself in assembling what forces he could for his defence. That the Mareschal *de Crequy* being dispatched from *Paris* had met this news upon the way, and returned with it to Court; from whence he was dispatched in haste the second time to *Lorrain*. That the *French* camp near *St. Germain* was marched towards *Peronne* under the command of Monsieur *Vaubrun*; but that by orders sent after them upon the way, they were to be divided into two bodies, of which one was to march away to the Mareschal *Crequy* in *Lorrain*,
and

and the other towards *Sedan*; where they should make a stand, and face any attempts that might be designed from *Flanders* or this country, towards interrupting the success of their affairs in *Lorraine*. Monsieur de *Witt* told me farther, that the *States* having considered these advices, had ordered them (the Commissioners) immediately to acquaint me with them: and farther, that tho' the *States* esteemed it a matter of so great importance, that all the parties of the *triple alliance* ought to concern themselves in it, as wholly destructive to those ends of conserving the *Spanish* dominions, which were mutually proposed in the said alliance; yet they (the *States*) should not, nor indeed could not, proceed to any resolutions thereupon, without first knowing those of his Majesty, and being assured of his vigorous conjunction. And hereupon they desired me to give his Majesty notice immediately by an express, to the end that I might know his sense and intentions upon this conjuncture; or at least be instructed to confer with the *States* upon it.

After this, much was enlarged by Monsieur de *Witt* and the Commissioners, concerning the very great importance of the seizure of *Lorraine*; as the cutting off *Burgundy* wholly from the rest of the *Spanish* dominions, as well as all farther communication between any of the *Netherlands*, and many of the Princes of *Germany*, with the *Switzers*. So as they compared *Lorraine* to a citadel in a town, from which all the rest would be commanded at pleasure. They added, that the dutchy of *Luxemburg* would be in a manner blocked up, and maimed in their mutual assistance with the rest of the *Spanish* provinces, that the Electors of *Mentz* and *Triers* would have the *French* feet upon their throats: and consequently, that whenever *France* should begin with *Flanders* after the possession of *Lorraine*, the country of *Burgundy* would be their own in an hour, and *Flanders* in a very short time, without greater

er and readier assistances than there seemed to be any reasonable hopes for.

After this, they told me, they had received likewise a new account by this post, of all the *French* preparations at sea, and the present estate of their own fleet; of which they gave me this inclosed list. And by all I can gather from their discourses, I judge they are capable of any vigorous resolution that his Majesty should think fit to inspire them in conjunction with us: but that without it they are resolved, as they express it, * *De laisser agir au bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs portes sans se remuer.* Upon all which they pretend, that the disposal and balance at this time of all affairs in these parts of *Christendom*, lie before his Majesty; from whom both the *Empire* and *Spain*, as well as *Sweden* and this *State*, will receive their measures.

Three days since the Baron d'*Hola* was with me, to communicate a letter he had newly received from the *Emperor*, declaring his resolution to join with the *triple alliance* in the guaranty of the peace of *Aix*, which he desired me to give his Majesty part of by the post: but having told me at the same time, that he resolved to give your Lordship the same account, I omit to trouble you with any further particulars. He came to me again just upon the close of what I have written, and shewed me a letter from Monsieur *Louvigni* at *Brussels*, containing the particulars of what has happened in *Lorrain*, and little different from those I had before received by Monsieur *de Witt*; only that the Duke of *Lorrain* resolved to retire with all his forces into the mountains, and hopes

* To leave it to God, and to see the *French* at their doors without stirring a foot.

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to defend himself some time, provided he might be sure of not being abandoned. I am ever,

My Lord,

your, &c.

To my Lord Keeper.

My Lord,

Hague, Sept.—N. S. 1670.

I lately gave my Lord Arlington the account which was given me by the *States* Commissioners, of the seizure of *Lorrain* with their reflexions upon it, and the consequences it must needs have upon all the affairs of *Christendom*; and their desires of my communicating all from them with speed and care to his Majesty, which I did.

I have since received by last post, and by a letter from his Lordship, the King's orders for my immediate repair into *England*, and for my acquainting the *States* with it; and that it is only with intentions of my informing his Majesty better in the several points that concern the present conjunctures of my station here. This I have done in a conference upon it with *de Witt*. I found him at first very pensive upon the news of it, and apt to reflect upon this happening so soon and unexpectedly after the late seizure of *Lorrain*; and both after the many delays and difficulties raised by us (as he apprehends) in admitting the *Emperor* to the guaranty of the peace of *Air* in conjunction with the *triple-alliance*, which we formerly so much desired. He remembered at the same time the many instances we have made for many months past about such a trifle as the carrying off our planters from *Surinam*, (whom he takes by the articles to become their subjects) and the invincible difficulties in which we have engaged matters between our *East-India* companies;

in

in which he says he is assured our merchants have no part, but as they are instigated by some persons at Court, whose ill intentions he fears towards the late alliances contracted between his Majesty and these States, both for our own mutual safety, and that of all *Christendom*. He reflected upon a coldness in all our negotiations of that kind, ever since *Madame's* journey into *England*; and upon the late journey of the Duke of *Buckingham's* to *Paris*, which he could not think was, * *Pour voir le país, où apprendre la langue*; and desired I would tell him what I could make of all this laid together: for on the one side, there were circumstances enough to awake a suspicious man; and on the other side, he could never think it possible for any nation or Court itself, to quit so certain a point of interest and great a point of honour, as must be forfeited by our breaking our alliances with this *State*, or entering into any with *France*, whose greatness had occasioned our measures for our own as well as our neighbour's defence. He said, I knew the best of any how all these matters had passed: how his Majesty had engaged these *States* in those common measures, and even prevailed with them to make a sacrifice of the ancient kindness and alliance this *State* had always before with *France*, to the considerations of the present danger from the greatness of that Crown to the rest of *Christendom*; though they might have had what terms they pleased from them for the dividing of *Flanders*. That I knew with how inviolate faith and firmness the *States* had constantly observed for these two years past, their friendship and alliances with his Majesty, and how great a part I had in contracting and pursuing them, by the particular confidence the *States* and he especially had in my person, as one that was persuaded of our common interests, that knew my Master's mind, and would not be an instrument to deceive those that

trusted

* To see the country, or learn the language.

trusted me. For these reasons he said, he desired to know my opinion upon this whole matter, especially that of my journey into *England*; which, he said, would be very surprizing to every body here, and therefore he would be glad to give the news of it to the *States* in the best manner he could.

I protested to him that I had hitherto received constant assurances from both the Secretaries of State, of his Majesty's resolutions to observe constantly the measures in which he was engaged to this *State*. And that I knew not a word more of the reasons of my sudden journey into *England*, than what I had told him. That I had orders to leave my family behind me: and that his Majesty might possibly think it necessary for his information to speak with me upon the present conjunctures, and to return me immediately according to my Lord *Arlington's* letter. That I confessed, I was apt to make many of those reflexions that he had done; but could not believe it possible for any Crown ever to enter into counsels so destructive to their honour and safety as those he suspected. That if such a thing should ever happen, I desired him to remember what I told him upon the scruples he had made in trusting our Court upon the negotiations of the *triple-alliance*; which was, that I told him then what I thought of his Majesty's dispositions and resolutions, as well as those of his Ministers: that I could not believe it possible for them to change in a point of so evident interest, and which would be so understood by the whole nation. That however I could answer for no body besides myself, but this I would; and that if ever such a thing should happen, I would never have any part in it. That I had told the King so as well as him, and would make it good. That for the present there was nothing more to be said, but that I must go away for *England*. That if I returned he would know more;

more ; and I doubted by what he said, that he would guess more if I returned not.

Monfieur *de Witt* smiled, and said, I was in the right. That in the mean time, he would try to cure himself and others of all suspicions upon my journey : and would hope on the other side, it might be of use to the common interests, by possessing his Majesty of the great importance of the late seizure of *Lorrain* ; and of the *States* resolutions to stick close to him in all measures he should take upon it. And so we parted.

I would have gone away immediately upon this summons, but that it found me very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a fever, as it seemed to begin ; but since a great swelling fallen upon my face, I hope it may pass. However, being forced to delay my journey some few days, I could not but give your Lordship this account before-hand, and leave it to you to make what use of it you think fit, without expecting any answer, since I hope so soon to follow it.

But I know your Lordship fully persuaded of our interest to preserve our alliances here, and the present measures of *Christendom* which depend upon them. And tho' you have said nothing yet to make me distrust our counsels in the matter ; yet I confess I have not the better opinion of it from what I find of your Lordship's estranging yourself of late, or being estranged from the consultations of them.

I have likewise reflected upon the kind hint your Lordship gave me some time since, of my Lord *Arlington's* not being the same to me which he had formerly been, and constantly since our first acquaintance : which made me, I confess, then doubt rather some mistake in your Lordship's observation, than any change in his friendship or dispositions. From himself, I must needs say I yet find nothing of it ; and tho' his style seems a little changed in what concerns

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our public affairs, yet not at all in what is particular to me. When I come into *England* I shall soon know the truth of your conjecture, and tell it you, because by that I shall judge the truth of mine: for having never said or done any thing to deserve the least change in his Lordship's friendship to me since it first began; I am sure if it happens, it can be derived from nothing else but a change he foresees in those measures at Court which he has been with your Lordship so deeply engaged in; and which he knows as well as your Lordship that I will never have any part in the councils of altering, till I can be convinced that any others will be more for his Majesty's honour and safety.

All this I say in confidence to your Lordship, without touching any word of it to my Lord *Arlington*, or any other person: and shall increase this trouble no farther, because I hope to have so soon the honour of seeing you, and assuring you a nearer way, with how much passion as well as truth I am and shall be ever,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's, &c.

To the Great Duke of Tuscany.

Au Grand Duc de Toscane.

London Nov. 4.
1670.

S I R,

I should not have satisfied myself barely to resent all the favours of your most serene Highness, and particularly the honour of your last of September the 30th, if I were any way capable of acknowledging them as I ought, either by my expressions or my services.

De Lond. le 4. Nov.

Monfieur, S. N. 1670.

JE ne me contenterois pas de ressentir comme je le fais & comme je le dois, toutes les bontez de V. A. Sme, & particulièrement l'honneur qu'elle m'a fait par sa dernière lettre du 30 de Septembre, si je me trouvois le moins du monde capable de les reconnoître comme elles le méritent,

vices. But your Highness being pleased to oblige so many ways so unprofitable a person, can hope for no other returns than the pleasure of your own generosity, and the devotion of a heart so grateful as mine.

I should have extremely regretted the length of time your letter was in passing before it found me at London, after having missed me at the Hague; were it not that your Highness is to consider me here as one of the commonest among the King's subjects, and not as a Minister who has any part in public affairs. And therefore, you can expect nothing in my letters, but the tedious compliments of an idle man, instead of such informations and services as your Highness might expect to receive from those who are devoted like me, to your service. But the Marquis of Puzzi is too well received at the King my Master's Court, and too well informed, not to have given your Highness all intelligence necessary, as well of his Majesty's friendship and esteem, as of the general devotion his subjects bear for the person of your Highness. He must also have informed your Highness, of the happy disposition his Majesty has found in his Parliament, for the increase
of

tent, ou par mes expressions, ou par mes services. Mais V. A. ayant voulu par tant de manieres differentes obliger un sujet aussi inutile que je le suis, n'a pas dû en esperer d'autres fruits que le plaisir de jouir de sa propre generosité, & de s'attacher un cœur aussi reconnoissant que le mien.

Je me serois fort plaint des longueurs à travers lesquelles la lettre de V. A. est enfin venue me trouver à Londres, après m'avoir manqué à la Haye; si désormais je devois être regardé de V. A. autrement que comme un homme privé, & un des sujets les plus ordinaires de sa Majesté, qui n'est plus ni Ministre public, ni admis dans les affaires. Par consequent mes lettres ne peuvent contenir, que les complimens d'un homme oisif, au lieu des relations & des instructions que V. A. attend de ceux qui sont aussi attachez à elle qu'elle fait que je le suis. Mais Monsieur le Marq. de Puzzi est trop bien à la Cour du Roy mon maître, & d'ailleurs trop éclairé, & trop exact, pour n'avoir pu informer V. A. de tout ce qu'elle doit savoir par rapport à notre Cour; sur tout, il n'aura pas negligé, je m'assure, de luy parler de l'amitié & de l'estime de sa Majesté pour la personne de V. A. en cela secondée par l'affection generale de tous ses sujets. Il vous aura aussi entretenu des heureuses dispositions que sa Majesté vient de trouver

of his revenues, and by that means for the establishment of his interests both within and without his kingdoms. I am sorry the said Marquis has found nothing here to please or keep him longer among us. But I hope your Highness will not think that during my stay here, there can want a person, as ready to receive and obey all your commands, as any of your own subjects, since I am so much,

S I R,

Your Highness's, &c.

trouver dans l'assemblée de son Parlement, pour l'augmentation de ses finances, & pour la sécurité de ses intérêts tant au dedans qu'aux dehors de ses états. Je suis bien marri quae Monsieur le Marquis n'ait pas trouvé icy assez de charmes pour s'y plaire, & s'y séjourner un peu plus long tems. Mais j'ose esperer que V. A. ne croira pas manquer dans Londres d'une personne entièrement dévouée à son service, & aussi empressée à recevoir ses ordres, qu'aucun de ses propres sujets, tandis que j'y feray mon séjour, puisque je suis,

Monsieur,

De V. A. Sme, &c.

To Sir John Temple..

S I R,

London, Novem. 22. N. S. 1670.

I Must make you my humble acknowledgements for so great a present, as you may have pleased to send me towards that expence I have resolved to make at *Sheen*: and assure you, no part of it shall either go any other way, or lessen what I had intended of my own. I doubt not to compass what I told you of my Lord *Lisle*, for enlarging my small territories there; when that is done, I propose to bestow a thousand pounds upon the conveniencies of the house and garden, and hope that will reach all I care for: so that your five hundred pounds may be laid out rather for ornament than use, as you seem to desire, by ordering me to make the front perfectly uniform. Your care of that and me, in this matter, is the more obliging, the less I find you concur with me in my thoughts

of

of retiring wholly from public affairs, and to that purpose, of making my nest at this time as pleasant and commodious as I can afford it. Nor shall I easily resolve to offer at any of those advantages you think I might make upon such a retreat, of the King's favour or good opinion, by pretending either to pension or any other employment. The honour and pay of such posts as I have been in, ought to be esteemed sufficient for the best services of them: and if I have credit left with the present Ministers to get what is owing me upon my embassy, I shall think myself enough rewarded; considering how different a value is now like to be put upon my services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were performed. 'Tis very likely at that time, as you believe, there were few reasonable things the King would have denied me, while the *triple alliance* and our league with *Holland*, had so great a vogue: and my friends were not wanting in their advices to me to make use of it. But I have resolved never to ask him any thing, otherways than by serving him well: and you will have the less reason perhaps to reproach me this method, if you will please to remember how the two embassies of *Aix la Chapelle* and *Holland* were not only thrown upon me without my seeking; but also what my Lord *Arlington* told me was designed for me upon Secretary *Morris's* removal, in case the King had not thought my embassy into *Holland* of the greatest necessity in pursuance of those measures we had taken with that *State*.

For what you think of the interest we have still to pursue them, and consequently of the use the King will still have of me upon that occasion: I will not enter into any reasonings with you upon that matter at this distance; but will only tell you some passages of fact upon which I ground the judgment I make of affairs wherein I have no part; and which I am not so solicitous to draw into the light, as I doubt others are

to keep them in the dark. And when I have told you these, I shall leave you to judge whether I take my measures right as to my own private conduct.

You know first the part I had in all our alliances with *Holland*; how far my own personal credit was engaged upon them to Monsieur *de Witt*; and the resolutions I not only acquainted him and you with, but his Majesty too; that I would never have any part in breaking them, whatever should happen: tho' that I confess could hardly enter into any body's head that understood the interests of *Christendom* as well as our own. I have given you some intimations how cold I have observed our temper at Court in those matters for this last year; and how different it was thought abroad from that warmth with which we engaged in them: so that it was a common saying at the *Hague*, *Qu'il faut avouer, qu'il y a eu neuf mois du plus grand ministere du monde en Angleterre*: for they would hardly allow a longer term to the vigour of that council which made the *triple alliance*, and the peace at *Aix*, and sent me over into *Holland* this last ambassy to pursue the great ends of them, and draw the *Emperor* and Princes of the *Empire* into the common guaranty of the peace. Instead of this, our pretensions upon the business of *Surinam*, and the *East-India* companies have grown high, and been managed with sharpness between us and the *States*; and grounded (as Monsieur *de Witt* conceives) more upon a design of shewing them our ill humour than our reason. I was sensible that my conduct in all these matters had fallen short for many months past of the approbation at Court it used to receive; and that Mr. *Worden* was sent over to me only to disparage it, or espy the faults of it; tho' I think he returned with the opinion that the business would not bear it. 'Tis true, both my Lord *Arlington* and Sir *John Trevor* continued to the last of my stay in *Holland* to assure me, that the King still remained firm
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in his measures with the *States*: but yet I found the business of admitting the *Emperor* into the guaranty, went downright lame: and that my Lord Keeper was in a manner out of the foreign Councils; for so he writ to me himself, and gave me notice at the same time, that my Lord *Arlington* was not at all the same to me that he had been: which I took for an ill sign in our public business and an ill circumstance in my own; and the more, because I was sure not to have deserved it; and found nothing of it in his own letters, but only that they came seldom, and run more upon indifferent things than they used to do.

Ever since *Madame's* journey into *England*, the *Dutch* had grown jealous of something between us and *France*; and were not like to be cured by these particulars I have mentioned: but upon the invasion and seizure of *Lorrain* by *France*, and my being sent for over so suddenly after it, *Monseigneur de Witt* himself could keep his countenance no longer; though he be neither suspicious in his nature, nor thought it the best course to discover any such disposition upon this occasion, how much soever he had of it: but yet he told me at my coming away, that he should make a judgment of us by the suddenness of my return, which the King had ordered me to assure him of.

When I came to town, I went immediately to my Lord *Arlington* according to custom. And whereas upon my several journeys over in the late conjunctures, he had ever quitted all company to receive me, and did it always with open arms, and in the kindest manner that could be; he made me this last time stay an hour and half in an outward room before he came to me, while he was in private with my Lord *Ashly*. He received me with a coldness that I confess surprized me; and after a quarter of an hour's talk of my journey and his friends at the *Hague*, instead of telling me the occasion of my being sent for over, or any thing
else

else material, he called in *Tatá* that was in the next room, and after that my Lord *Crofts*, who came upon a common visit; and in that company the rest of mine passed, till I found he had nothing more to say to me, and so went away.

The next morning I went however to him again, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's hand, as I used upon my former journeys. He thought fit to bring me to his Majesty as he was walking in the *Mall*; who stopped to give me his hand, and asked me half a dozen questions about my journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and so walked on. Since which time, neither the King nor my Lord *Arlington* have ever said three words to me about any thing of business; tho' I have been as often in their way as agreed with such an ill courier as I am, or a man without business as I found myself to be.

I have seen my Lord *Keeper* and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: and find the first uneasy and apprehensive of our present councils; the last sufficient and confident that no endeavours can break the measures between us and *Holland*, because they are esteemed so necessary abroad and so rational at home: yet I find them both but barely in the skirts of business; and only in right of their posts: and that in the secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, my Lord *Arlington*, my Lord *Ashly*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, at present compose the ministry. This I tell you in short as the constitution of our affairs here at this time, and which I believe you may reckon upon.

You know how different Sir *Thomas Clifford* and I have always been since our first acquaintance, in our schemes of government, and many other matters especially concerning our alliance with *Holland*: and that has been the reason, I suppose, of very little commerce between us farther than common civility, in our frequent encounters at my Lord *Arlington's* for several
years

years past: this made me a little surprized at his receiving me upon my first coming over, and treating me since with a most wonderful graciousness, till the other day, which I suppose has ended that style. Upon the first visit he made me, after many civilities, he told me, he must needs have two hours talk with me at some time of leisure and in private, upon our affairs in *Holland*: and still repeated this almost every time he saw me: till one day last week, when we appointed the hour and met in his closet. He began with great compliments to me about my services to the King in my employments abroad; went on with the necessity of preserving our measures with *Holland*, and the mutual interest both nations had in it: and concluded with wondering why the *States* should have shewed so much difficulty upon those two affairs of *Surinam* and the *East-India* Company, wherein our demands seemed so reasonable. And how it came about that I had failed in compassing his Majesty's satisfaction in those two matters, after having succeeded so much in all my other negotiations. I thought he might not have understood the detail of those two affairs; and so deduced it to him, with the *Dutch* reasons, which I confess seemed to me in many points but too well grounded. He seemed unsatisfied with them all, and told me I must undertake that matter again, and bring it to a period; and asked me whether I did not think I could bring them to *reason*: I said plainly I believed I never could, to what we called *so*, and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: that I had spent all my shot in vain: and therefore thought their best way would be to employ some person in it that had more wit or ability than I. Upon this he grew a little moved; and replied, that for my wit and ability they all knew I had enough; and all the question was, whether I was willing to employ them upon this occasion which so much concerned the

King's service, and the honour of the nation. Here-upon I told him, how I had used my utmost endeavours in it already, how many representations I had made the *States*, how many conferences I had had with their Commissioners, how long and particular accounts I had given them hitherto, and how I had valued all the reasons transmitted me from hence, and how all to no purpose: and being, I confess, a little heated after so long and unpleasant a conversation (as well as he) I asked him in the name of God what he thought a man could do more? Upon this in a great rage he answered me, yes; he would tell me what a man might do more, and what I ought to do more; which was to let the King and all the world know how basely and unworthily the *States* had used him; and to declare publicly how their Ministers were a company of rogues and rascals, and not fit for his Majesty or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: and this was a part that no body could do so well as I. My answer was very calm, that I was not a man fit to make declarations: that whenever I did upon any occasion, I should speak of all men what I thought of them; and so I should do of the *States*, and the Ministers I had dealt with there, which was all I could say of this business. And so our conversation ended.

Upon all these passages, and some others not fit for a letter, I have fixed my judgment of the affairs and counsels at present in design or deliberation here. I apprehended weather coming, that I shall have no mind to be abroad in; and therefore resolved to get a warm house over my head as soon as I could: and neither apprehend any uneasiness of mind or fortune in the private life I propose to myself; unless some public revolutions should draw both upon me, which cannot touch me alone, and must be born like a common calamity.

I cannot find them willing yet to end my embassy in form, or give me leave to send over for my wife and family; which I easily apprehend the reason of, and must go through as well as I can; though my expence at the *Hague* be great, and my hopes little here of getting my pay, as I find affairs go and dispositions too in the treasury, where all is disposed in a manner by Sir *Thomas Clifford*. In the mean time I have sent over for my *Spanish* horse, and intend to send a groom away with him to *Dublin*, in hopes you will be pleased with him. I can be so with nothing more than the occasions of expressing always that duty wherewith I am,

S I R,

your, &c.

To Monsieur de Wit.

Au Monsieur de Witt.

Sheen, July 25.
1671.

S I R,

BY yours of the 14th instant, I received the marks you were pleased to give me of your friendship and memory, which I value as I ought, and as coming from a person who has already acquired the esteem of all the world, and by that the right of doing much honour to others to whom he gives any testimony of his own. I can pretend to no other part in it, than what your goodness gives me, and am afraid that this may do injury to your judgment. But knowing that your opinion of

De Sheen, le 25.
Monsieur, Juil. 1671.

J'AY reçu dans votre lettre du 14, de ce mois les marques que vous avez bien voulu me donner de vôtres souvenir, & de votre amitié, je les estime ce qu'elles valent, & comme venant d'une personne qui s'est déjà acquis l'estime de tout le monde, & par là le droit de faire beaucoup d'honneur en donnant des marques de la sienne. Je n'y sçauois pretendre d'autre part que celle que votre generosité m'y donne, & je crains même que cela ne fasse quelque tort à votre jugement. Mais sachant que la bonne opinion que vous

temoignez

me is solely founded upon your knowledge of my good intentions, I shall defend myself no longer; because in this age there is so little honour in being a good man, that none are suspected to employ their vanity about it, any more than their pursuits. I should quit my residence at the *Hague* with much regret, if I were of your opinion in what regards me; for I think I should be wholly useless there, and find I am better turned for making a good *Gard'ner* than an *able Minister*. However, I shall ever bear much respect and esteem to those who are well qualified for the latter; and therefore cannot fail of both for your person in particular, any more than of my acknowledgments for your civilities to me at the *Hague*, whereof I shall ever preserve the remembrance, as well as the passion wherewith I am,

S I R,

Your, &c.

temoignez avoir de moy, n'est fondée que sur la connoissance de mes bonnes intentions, je ne veux plus me defendre; car, au reste, dans un siecle comme le nôtre, il y a trop peu de gloire à être homme de bien, pour s'attirer le soupçon d'avoir tourné ses veues à ce côté là, & borné sa vanité à si peu de chose. Je quitterois avec beaucoup de regret, le séjour de la Haye, si j'avois de moy même, l'opinion que vous voulez que j'en aye; mon sentiment est que j'y serois tout-à-fait inutile; & je me sens beaucoup plus propre à pratiquer l'art d'un bon Jardinier, que celui d'habile Ministre. J'auray pourtant toujours l'estime & le respect qui sont dûs à eux qui savent bien ce dernier, & par là je croy dire assez clairement, que je n'en manqueray jamais pour votre personne en particulier. Je say de plus quelle reconnaissance je dois à toutes les civilitez que j'ay receues de vous pendant mon séjour à la Haye; & mon cœur en conservera éternellement le souvenir, ainsi que la passion avec la quelle je suis,

Monfieur,

Vôtre, &c.

To

To Sir John Temple.

S I R,

London, Sept. 14. 1671.

I AM sure you will be pleased with knowing that my wife and family are safe arrived from *Holland*, after a passage that might very well have met with other dangers besides those of wind and weather. I could not obtain leave to send for them till *July*, tho' I had for some months solicited both that and the ending of my embassy: but then his Majesty was pleased to grant me both that liberty, and also of writing to the *States* and to Monsieur *de Witt*, to take my leave of them, and end my embassy as upon my own desire, and my own private occasions; which were indeed enough to engage me in that pursuit, considering the charge of maintaining an Ambassador's family at the *Hague*, while my payments from the Exchequer went so heavy and so lame.

'Tis true, I had other reasons long about me, which I kept to myself: for soon after my coming over, my wife writ me word, that Monsieur *Gioe* the *Danish* Envoy there, had told her in confidence, and out of kindness to me, that Monsieur *Pomponne*, the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*, had acquainted him, that new measures were taken between our Court and that of *France*; among which one was, that I should be recalled and return no more.

At the same time Monsieur *de Witt* had, upon the delays of my return, told my Secretary Mr. *Blathwait*, that he should take my stay or coming back for certain signs of what the King's intentions were towards the preserving or changing the measures he had taken with the *States*; and had desired him to let the Court know what he said. This I suppose made them unwilling to make a declaration, by my recalling, of what they intended upon this occasion, before all things

things necessary were more fully agreed, or better concerted. Therefore they continued not only my family there for so many months, and the talk of my return, but entertained the *Dutch* Ministers here with such language as gained in them an opinion of our measures still continued firm upon the same bottom; and with such a credulity as was enough to make one doubt whether they were willing to deceive their masters, or to be deceived themselves.

In *July* the *Dutch* fleet was floating in the Channel; to shew, I suppose, that they were in condition to meet any of those dangers they began to suspect from the motions of *France*, and from our late conduct. When the Captain of the yacht that was ordered to convey my wife over, took his leave at court; he had public orders given him, if he came in sight of the *Dutch* fleet, he should sail through them, and shoot at those ships which were next him, till he made them strike sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his course. He passed it seems into *Holland* without seeing them; but as he returned he met the fleet, and sailing through them, made several shot at those near him: upon which they seemed at least not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some distress, and the Admiral sent a boat aboard him to enquire. The Captain told them, that he had been sent to bring back the *English* Ambassadors with her family from *Holland*; and had orders to make the *Dutch* fleet strike wherever he met them in the Channel. Upon this message by the boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* came aboard the yacht, upon a compliment to my wife, which he performed very handsomely, and afterwards desired to speak with the Captain, of whom he enquired the reason of his shooting; and receiving the same answer which had been given to the first boat, he said it was a point they had received no order in from their masters, and did not know how that affair was agreed between his Majesty

jesty and the States. But though it were settled, yet the Captain could not pretend the fleet and Admiral should strike to a yacht; which was but a pleasure-boat, or at least served only for passage, and could not pass for one of the King's men of war. The Captain said he had his orders, and was bound to follow them. After *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain perplexed enough came to my wife, and desired to know what she pleased he should do in the case; which she saw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her help. She told him, he knew his orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left to him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her children. He pursued his course, and landed her safe; after which she went to Court, and was very well received, and much commended for her part in what had passed: and at night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her examination in form upon the whole matter of fact. When I went next to the King's levee, he began to speak of my wife's carriage at sea, and to commend it as much as he blamed the Captain's; and said, she had shewed more courage than he: and then falling upon the *Dutch* insolence, I said, that however matters went, it must be confessed that there was some merit in my family, since I had made the alliance with *Holland*, and my wife was like to have the honour of making the war. The King smiled as well as I, who had found this the only way to return the discourse into good humour: and so it ended.

When I went into the King's closet, I desired to kiss his hand upon the end of my embassy; which he gave me very graciously, and told me, he had all the reason that could be, to be satisfied with my services. And upon my desire that he would give me some help in the dispatch of my payments due from the Exchequer, since I was resolved to ask him nothing else, and had been at so great expence to maintain my family at the
Hague

Hague so long without their help; he told me, he would speak to the Commissioners of the treasury to do me justice; and in the mean time would give me the plate belonging to my embassy, which I had still in my possession. I gave his Majesty my humble thanks; and he seemed very much pleased to see I took it kindly, and was so easily contented.

And thus an adventure has ended in smother, which had for almost three years made so much noise in the world, restored and preserved so long the general peace, and left his Majesty the arbitrage of all affairs among our neighbours, by the *Emperor* and *Spain's* resolutions as well as *Sweden* and *Holland's*, to follow his measures for the common safety and peace of *Christianity*.

The *Dutch* Ministers at Court, as ill noses as they have, began to smell the powder after the Captain's shooting, and knew not what countenances to set upon it here, and will I doubt be more to seek at their return. All people are full of the politics and expectations of what will be next, which you must expect to hear from Gazettes, and no more from me; who shall not so much as enquire, nor care to know; but retire to my corner at *Speen*, and endeavour to pass the rest of my life as quietly and innocently as I can; and for the rest, like a private man, run the fortune of my country.

I have been long enough in courts and public business, to know a great deal of the world and of myself; and to find that we are not made for one another, and that neither of us are like to alter either our natures or our customs: and that in course and periods of public government, as well as private life, *Quisque suos patimur manes*.

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I am sensible this is too long a trouble ; but being like to be the last of this kind, I hope you will forgive it, among many others you have been content with from,

S I R,

Your most obedient son,
and most humble servant.

To my Brother Sir John Temple.

Dear Brother,

Sheen, May 23, 1672.

THO' I have not much troubled my friends or myself with letters, since I left off all public business; yet our company here being otherwise engaged at this time, I could not defer the telling you by this post, that my brother *Harry* is safe arrived from *France*, and talks of beginning another journey towards you in a little time. I doubt he had not come over so soon, but from the apprehension of more danger at sea upon the *Dutch* war breaking out, which you will at length believe my presages of had some reason, as I will allow you had none to think them true at that distance; since neither the *French* nor the *Dutch* would believe we were in earnest, till we fell upon the *Smyrna* fleet. My brother *Harry* says, no body till then believed it at *Paris*; and when I told my Lord *Arlington* what he said, he confessed the very *French* Court would not believe it till that blow was struck: and how well soever our measures with them were taken, yet they resolved we should begin the war; which was an honour we might perhaps have spared, considering who was like to have the profit of it.

For the *Dutch*, though they were alarmed at Sir *George Downing's* being sent over upon the ending of my embassy, yet they thought it was designed only to

fright them into some great payments, as he had endeavoured to do before the first war began; so that they were still in hopes, that if our common interest and treaties should not hold us, yet they might at least *buy* our friendship. Therefore the *States* treated Sir *George Downing* with all respect and civility; though the common people were hardly kept in order upon their old hatred to him, which was well known here before he went. For when the King named him for that employment, one of the Council said, *The rabble will tear him in pieces*; upon which the King smiled, and said, *Well I will venture him*. But Sir *George* was so wise as not to venture himself too far; which made him come away in a fright without orders or leave: and that was all the occasion of his being sent to the *tower* upon his arrival, which disappointed some ends designed by his journey. I think indeed none got much by it but I; who had the good fortune to put off my house at the *Hague* with a great deal of my furniture to him at his going over. This advantage indeed was but small, in comparison of what I have lost upon this occasion by the stop of the Exchequer, which has sunk all the money I had in Alderman *Backwell's* hands, and I doubt, without recovery. This council was carried so secret, that I do not hear of any man at Court that had warning enough to call in his money out of any of the bankers hands: till Sir *Thomas Clifford* proposed the thing at Council without other circumstance, than saying, that it was necessary the King must have money upon the war with *Holland*: that he knew no other way but this; and desired none would speak against it, without proposing some better and easier way. Upon this, nothing more was said, and the thing passed; and being immediately public, it was too late for any man to call in his money; which made the loss and complaint very general, as well as particular to me. Yet I pray God this may prove the worst consequence of the present

present war, and the councils that have engaged us in it. I doubt you will find very ill ones in *Ireland* by the loss of all your foreign trade, that will soon follow.

But my public thoughts are ended, and so I leave them to those who are engaged in them. If my father and you are well, as your friends are all here, it is enough: and I am ever

Your most affectionate brother.

To Monsieur Wickfort.

Au Monsieur Wickfort.

Lond. Oct. 10.

S I R, N. S. 1672.

IF, by the course of public affairs, it were permitted me to cultivate any correspondence in the country where you are, it should, without doubt, have been yours, which hath ever been equally profitable and agreeable to me: but we must comply with the times and motions of our governments, how contrary soever they may be to our own inclinations. However, since public edicts do not forbid any commerce that is only used for withdrawing effects in either country, I am by that means allowed to acquit myself of the acknowledgments I owe you, for dispatching my affairs with Monsieur Scague, and to desire you will continue to me your good offices, if I shall need them, towards finishing the rest of my accounts with

De Lond. le 10. Oct.

Monsieur, S. N. 1672.

SI les conjonctures & les situations des affaires publiques, m'avaient permis d'entretenir quelque correspondance au pais où vous etes, c'eût été sans doute une amitié comme la vôtre que j'eusse eu soin de cultiver; car elle m'a toujours paru également utile & agreable. Il faut s'accommoder au tems, & ceder aux mouvemens qui entraînent les états, quelques opposez qu'ils soient à nos desirs & à nos volontez. Mais comme les declarations des Princes ne deffendent pas cette sorte de commerce, qui n'a pour but que de retirer les effets, & de solder ses comptes de part & d'autre, il m'est permis de m'acquitter de ce que je vous dois pour m'avoir tiré d'affaire avec Monsieur Scague, & de vous supplier de me continuer vos bons offices, en cas qu'ils me soient encore necessaires pour finir

with my merchant at *Amsterdam*.

In the mean time, I thank you for the favour of your last, which has given me a very agreeable surprize: 'tis a great pleasure to hear, that any memory is left of a person buried in the privacy of a country life; and the idle amusements of leisure. For, since his Majesty has thought fit to change the course of his councils, in the pursuit whereof I was so long and so sincerely engaged, as ever believing them equally necessary to the repose of *Christendom*, and to the good of both our nations; I have had no share at all in public affairs; but, on the contrary, I am wholly sunk in my gardening, and the quiet of a private life; which I thank God, agrees with me as well as the splendor of the world, and gives me a great deal more quiet and satisfaction than I should have found by pursuing my fortunes in it, if I had the inclinations as often as I have had the occasions to do so. I will not tell you, that I have succeeded so well in my small country designs, as I have sometimes done in great ones: but, if ever any favourable accident (and this age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither; I would let you see that our buildings are not altogether without neatness: at least, I would make
you

nir le reste de mes comptes avec mon marchand d'*Amsterdam*.

Je vous remercie en même tems de la grace que vous m'avez faite par vôtre dernière lettre, qui me fût rendue il y a quelque tems, & qui me causa une agréable surprise; je voy avec plaisir qu'on se souvient encore d'une personne ensevelie dans un séjour champêtre, & qui dans sa retraite ne paroît plus sensible qu'aux douceurs d'une vie oisive. Car depuis que sa Majesté a trouvé bon de changer la face de son conseil, auquel j'ay été si long tems & si sincèrement dévoué; persuadé que les vœux de ce conseil étoient également utiles & au bien de nos deux nations, & au repos de la Chrétienté; depuis ce tems-là, dis je, je n'ay pris aucune part aux affaires publiques, & n'ay songé au contraire qu'à m'enfoncer dans le jardinage, & à goûter la douceur d'une vie privée; qui, grâces à Dieu, me sied aussi bien, que le faste des emplois, & tout l'éclat du grand monde, & me fait jouir d'un repos plus parfait que m'en auroit pu procurer la plus grande elevation, si avec d'autres desirs que ceux que j'ay, j'avois menagé toutes les occasions qui m'ont été offertes pour arriver à une grande fortune. Je ne vous diray pas que j'ay aussi bien réussi dans mes petits projets champêtres, que j'ay autrefois réussi dans des desseins plus élevez: mais si jamais quelque conjoncture imprevue (car de
siècle

you confels, that the fruits of my garden have another taste than those of my * closet, and will preserve better than those of my embassies. In the mean time, I must give place to our Ladies here, who will not be satisfied without assuring you of their services, and of the remembrance they will always keep of the civilities they have received from you and your family. I am,

S I R,

Your most humble and

most affectionate servant.

* *Observations on the Netherlands, which M. Wickfort afterwards translated.*

siècle en fait naître de plus bizarres) m'étoit assez favorable pour vous conduire dans notre Isle, je vous ferois voir que nos bâtimens ne sont pas tout à fait sans agrément; ou du moins je vous ferois avouer, que les fruits de mon jardin ont bien un autre goût que ceux de mon cabinet, & ont la propriété de se conserver mieux que ceux de mes ambassades. Je n'oserois employer ce qui me reste de papier; & il faut que je songe à y laisser du vuide pour nos Dames, qui ne me le pardonneront pas si elles n'y trouvoient place pour vous assurer de leurs services, & du souvenir qu'elles conserveront toujours de toutes les bontés qu'elles ont reçues tant de vous que de votre famille. Je suis,

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble & tres

affectionné serviteur,

W. Temple.

The End of Sir W. Temple's Letters.

LETTERS

LETTERS

TO

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor,

SIR,

London, Oct. 8. 1668. N. S.

I Have received your congratulation as an effect of your friendship as well as your civility. I am willing to flatter myself with it, as a thing very agreeable to my ambition, and the desires I have always had to deserve it. If it were not to assume something of vanity, I would make you the offer of all the services which my present or future fortunes shall make me capable to pay you; and if I could make them as valuable as they are sincere, I durst recommend them to be worthy your acceptance. Sir, I know your worth and merit gave me many competitors to your friendship; but in this divided world I claim some affinity to your principles, which gives some singularity to my pretence.

It is hardly yet in my province to enter into business with you; but I will take the liberty to tell you, that I am very glad you think it necessary, and have made some progress in some new expedient for paying the *Swedish* subsidies, and confirming that union which must preserve the peace of *Europe*. My Lord Keeper and Lord Privy Seal do a little fear the consequence of an universal guaranty upon the peace of the *Pyrenees*; left in the

the extent of it, it should be construed to engage the King to greater charge and undertakings than will consist with the state of his affairs. They are of opinion, that it were better to pay these subsidies in three parts, whereof *Spain* will readily pay his third, and you know how *England* can pay theirs, if *Holland* will accept their part: and then to proceed freely to comprehend *Spain* in the alliance upon such terms of advantage as are obvious in respect to *England*. My Lord *Arlington's* thoughts upon this subject are not yet known to me: he is with the King, and I have given him an account of these discourses, and in a few days I believe you will hear from him. In the mean time I take the liberty to give you this advance of our meditations here; whereof you will make what use you shall think reasonable to those ends we aim at.

Sir, I am with great esteem and sincerity

*Your most faithful, and
humble servant,*

J. Trevor.

From the Earl of Northumberland.

S I R,

Petworth, Nov. 16. 1668.

I Should be very much to blame if I did not make a more than ordinary acknowledgment for the last letter I received from you; wherein I find more marks of true friendship than are usually met with in this age; where truth is seldom spoken, and flattery is the only civility. I do very fully agree with you, that none of the actions of my life can be of more importance to me than those at my first setting out, whereby I may give the world a good or bad impression of me; and which soever of the two is at first taken up, will hardly ever
be

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be altered. If I fail in this, I cannot but confess myself extreme faulty, having lived so many years under the examples and precepts of one who made it his whole business to inform me of the difference between good and evil, and who was so well able to do it: so as besides the relation, I can truly say, that I have lost the best friend I had; and I hope to be believed when I say that I thought so.

I will entertain you no longer on this subject; but I have entertained myself very well with reading your letter often: and I assure you that you cannot bestow your friendship on any body that doth more esteem it, and will more gladly embrace it than

*Your most affectionate
and faithful servant,*

Northumberland.

From the Baron de l'Isola.

Brussels, Dec. 13.

My Lord,

IF I were not well assured of your goodness, and that you know the bottom of my heart enough to be persuaded, that time and absence can change nothing of the perfect friendship I have vowed for your Excellency; I might apprehend my long silence had raised in you an ill opinion of it: but I will confess to you freely, that while I saw things take a quite contrary course, to what I wished; I had not the heart

to

Monsieur,

1668.

SI je ne connoissois bien votre bonté & que vous savez assés le fond de mon cœur pour être persuade que le temps & l'absence ne peuvent rien alterer de la parfaite amitié que j'ay voüé à V. E. j'apprendrois que mon long silence ne luy en eut fait concevoir quelque mauvaise opinion: mais je luy avoueray franchement que tant que j'ay veu les choses prendre un cours tout contraire à celuy que je souhaitois; je n'ay pas eu le cœur d'entretenir

to entertain a correspondence wherein I could furnish nothing but words in the air, uncertain hopes, and projects without foundation. But now, when things seem to proceed by maxims more agreeable to the circumstances of the present time, I return to my ancient obligations, and begin to awake out of the profound sleep, wherein the languishing of our affairs had plunged me; and my first care is to renew to your Excellency my ancient services, and to testify my extreme joy for the hope I have of the honour very soon to embrace you, and pour into your bosom, my most secret thoughts. But shall we not have also the company of your illustrious Lady, my Lady Temple? My wife, who will needs bear me company, will never be comforted, if she misses the occasion of seeing so dear a friend: and I confess to you, it would be a sensible mortification if we should not find her with you. In the mean time, I humbly desire your Excellency to believe that I am absolutely yours, and that I have taken part as I ought, in the glory you have acquired in the world by your great and happy negotiations, wishing you, from the bottom

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d'entretenir une correspondance dans laquelle je n'aurois pu fournir que des paroles en l'air, des esperances incertaines, & des projets sans fondements. A present quelles semblent s'acheminer par des maximes plus convenables aux circonstances du tems present, je reviens à mes anciennes obligations, et commence à me reveiller comme du profond sommeil ou la langueur de nos operations m'avoit plongé; & mon premier soin est de renouveler à V. E. mes anciens services; & luy temoigner l'extreme joye que j'ay de l'espoir d'avoir bientôt l'honneur de l'embrasser, & verser dans son sein mes plus secretes pensées. Mais n'y trouverons nous point votre illustre Madame Temple? Ma femme, qui vient absolument m'accompagner, ne se consolera jamais si elle perd cette occasion de voir une si precieuse amie: et je vous avoue que ce nous seroit une sensible mortification, si nous ne la rencontrions pas auprès de vous. Cependant je prie tres humblement V. E. de croire que je suis absolument à elle, & que j'ay pris toute la part que je devois, à la gloire qu'elle s'est acquise dans le monde par ses belles & heureuses negotiations; luy souhaitant du fond du cœur tous les avantages que vous devez justement attendre d'un si gene-

T t t

requ

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of my heart, all the advantages you ought justly to expect from so generous a master. These are the most ardent wishes of,

*reux Maître. Ces sont les vœux
tres ardens que fait sans cesse,*

Monseigneur,

De vôtre Excellence

My Lord,

le tres humble & tres

Your Excellency's most

obeissant serviteur,

humble and most

obedient servant.

De P Isola.

From my Lord Arlington.

My Lord,

London, Jan. 19. 1668-9.

I Have two of yours to acknowledge of the 15th and 22d, I should have said three; for of the former date I had two, one relating to the public affair, the other to you and me; to which I will make answer at the bottom of this.

I am glad to see that at your first entrance with Monsieur le Baron d'Isola, you had worried him out of the vision he carried thither, to persuade the State and you to a *quadruple alliance*; or, as they have christened it in *Spain*, an offensive and defensive league with us. The testimony the world hath justly given him of his wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any subject. But your last shews him come to some reason, and that there are two hundred thousand crowns already in hand for the satisfaction of the *Swede*. I hope a few days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure myself you have his Majesty's instructions upon this subject; and the satisfaction of seeing, that you know our mind before we told it to you, which I observed

observed to his Majesty and his Ministers much to your advantage.

I have also this day, in the presence of Mr. Secretary *Trevor*, communicated to some of the *East-India* Company the paper given you by the *States*, upon their affairs, with the amendments *Monfieur de Witt* had sent to *Amsterdam* to make it more compleat. They seem at first view to believe it comes up to their desires in substance, but have desired it to see whether it be rightly worded, with a promise to return it to be sent you again by the next post, if by that time we can agree what form to give it.

As to what is said before concerns us both, I have little to say; I mean I am this evening too much off the hooks to reply so obligingly to you as you have spoken to me upon the probability of my devolving my correspondence with you to Sir *John Trevor*. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his district; and must therefore expect from him all the formal dispatches, but shall never be eased of my particular ones, till you give me cause, which I know you will never do, to love you or value you less. Besides, *Utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit astrum*: and I am resolved never to leave you till I have made you able to make my own fortunes; for which you have credit enough already, if you had also place for it: and believe me without flattery, you have enough of the former to deserve envy, which you must learn betimes to live with.

I have not yet spoken with Mr. *Williamson* concerning the correspondence you furnish him; he shall himself answer for it and his omissions all this while; and for myself, believe it, there is no man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more truth,

Your most affectionate

and most humble servant,

Arlington.

From

From the Lord Keeper Bridgeman.

My Lord,

Essex-House, Jan. 28. 1668-9.

I HAD the favour of your Excellency's of the 31st instant, N. S. with a copy of your letter to Mr. Secretary Trevor, and am your debtor for a letter of a former date. I am exceeding glad to find the business of the *Swedish* subsidies to be brought so near a good conclusion. Sir Mark Ognati came to me about the same time of the receipt of yours; and gave me the like assurances, as touching the concert they were now satisfied with it; but only for convenience-sake proposed the change of six hundred horse into foot, as apprehending our *English* horse not so well able to endure the hard forage in *Flanders* as the *Flemish*; but our foot they took to be excellent good. I find (though I would not tell him so) that we shall scarce agree here to send our foot without horse to accompany and secure them. As for the time of sending the forces, I believe (and so I told him) that we shall insist to have it undetermined as to a day; and they must rest upon the expressions, *with all the speed we can*; which is enough, where the stipulation is *bonâ fide* intended to be performed; and the other is not enough, without it. Some two days ago we received intelligence that the King of *France* has submitted the differences touching the *Condé* and the other dependances upon his conquests, to the determination of the King of *England* and Crown of *Sweden*, so it be done within a year. I hope we shall have peace abroad by this means for a year at least; I wish it may be so at home; and this good news which you sent us, gives me more encouragement to believe it will be so, than any I have from hence.

I

I have somewhat a fore fit of the gout, which still is in my hand, and causes me to make use of my nephew's pen.

I am with all faithfulness,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

affectionate humble servant,

Orl. Bridgeman, C. S.

From Mr. Secretary Trevor.

My Lord,

Whitehall, March 7. 1668-9.

I Have now herewith sent your Excellency the ratifications for the two instruments you last sent over. Your Lordship will take notice that the guaranty was ratified once before in *May* last, and left in your hands: I presume that since this last ratification is to be the same guaranty and the concert together, you will keep the former in your hands still. I am glad the last fraction of 20000 Rix dollars is paid also, and now the whole matter established.

I received yours of the 11th instant, N. S. and the inclosed declaration to the Elector of *Mentz*, of which I have not yet had opportunity to inform his Majesty, and to receive his commands and resolutions. To the concept for *Surinam* he will return you one of our own more full; but such as shall not differ much from what the *States* seem in theirs to intend, but more explicate, and less subject to evasion. By the next I hope to send it, that this matter may not be delayed on our part.

We have little news here. The Parliament makes haste to dispatch before *Easter*. In the Lords house there is arisen a great process which fills mens heads, upon

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upon the petition of my Lord Roos; who having been by act of Parliament last year divorced from his wife, and his children by her declared illegitimate, and incapable to inherit, doth now press for another act to enable him to marry another. On *Thursday* will be the great debate, in which both the spiritual and temporal Lords are divided much.

My Lord, I was very sorry to find your indisposition by your letter; I heartily wish you a quick recovery, and all other advantages, which no man desires for you more truly than,

Your Excellency's most

faithful humble servant,

J. Trevor.

From the Duke of Ormond.

My Lord,

Whitehall, May 17. 1669.

THinking as you did, that your Lady's return to you would be sooner than it has proved, I reserved the little or nothing I have to say to you, till her arrival with it might make the diversion from the affairs you are full of, more suitable.

I have not missed a day at the committee where your dispatches are considered, since you went from hence, till yesterday, that I was kept in my chamber by an apprehension rather than fit of the gout; and that omission was well supplied by a visit I received from Mr. Secretary Trevor, who gave me a relation of your last letters, and of the unequal desires of some of our allies.

I have all the reason in the world to be very confident that if you were in a station where your ability and industry could be as useful to me as your friendship

ship is real, I should soon find the effects of it: and this judgment I make not only from the entire credit I gave to your professions, but from the experience I daily have of your brother the Solicitor's care of all my nearest concerns; which, next to the King's continued bounty, will owe their greatest security and dispatch to his advice and assistances. My wife I hope is now in Ireland, both to think and advise farther with him.

I am with all reality,

My Lord,

Your Lordship's most affectionate
most humble servant,

Ormond.

From my Lord Ambassador Montague.

My Lord,

Paris, May, 24. 1669.

I Received the favour of your Lordship's of May the 16th. I am glad to hear that the business so long depending is like to come to so sudden a good conclusion. Both the *Spaniards* and the *Swedes* are obliged to your Lordship, for you have proved a better solicitor for them both, than either of them could have been for themselves.

This Court is mightily overjoyed with news that an express has brought in great diligence out of *Poland*, almost assuring the Prince of *Conde's* election to that Crown. If it should prove so, the *Swedes* have done no ill business for themselves in entering into the *triple alliance*.

The succours designed for *Candia* they say will certainly be embarked and put to sea the end of this month.

This

520 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

This is all you shall be troubled with at present from,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's most

obedient humble servant;

R. Montague.

From the Constable of Castile.

My Lord,

I Received your Excellency's letter of the 30th past, and observed, among other points, that your Excellency there insinuates to me not to press you any more upon the specification of time, nor any other change in the instruments, because you had not orders to do it; in answer to which I will tell your Excellency, that I esteem as I ought the zeal wherewith you have assisted to the conclusion of the guaranty, and to our advantage; assuring you, that I am very much obliged to you for it: and having farther considered attentively what your Excellency has represented to me; and particularly of what importance it was to finish this affair: and to manifest farther, the respectful deference I have to whatever can be agreeable to his *Britannic Majesty*; I have

Brussels, Feb. 6.

Monfieur, 1670.

J'AY reçu la lettre de vôtre Excellence du 30 du passé, & veu entre autres points, ce qu'elle m'y insinue, de ne la vouloir faire plus presser sur la specification du tems, ni aucun autre changement dans les instruments, puis qu'elle n'avoit pas les ordres de le faire. En réponse de quoy je diray à V. E. que j'estime comme je dois le zele avec lequel elle a co-operé à la conclusion de la garantie, & à nôtre avantage; l'assuerant que je luy en demeure tres obligé & tres reconnoissant. Et ayant en outre considéré attentivement tout ce que V. E. m'a représenté, & particulièrement l'importance qu'il y avoit d'achever cette affaire, & pour manifester tant plus la respectueuse deference que j'ay à tout ce qui peut estre agreable à sa Majesté Britannique: je suis condescendu tant plus volontiers & promptement à la delivrance

have condescended the more willingly and readily to the payment of 200,000 patacoons to the ministers of Sweden, in the form your Excellency will have learned more at large from *Don Stephen de Gamarra*. And besides, our Resident at London, *Don Manuel de Fonseca*, informs me by letters of the 24th and 30th of January, that the Lord Keeper, my Lord Arlington, and Secretary Trevor, have all three assured him, that after his Britannic Majesty was informed particularly of our reasons, he had resolved to order you to conclude the treaty, and to specify the time in the act of assistances, as I had desired of you; and that, in conformity to this, orders should be sent you, by which there was no doubt at London, of the entire conclusion of the guaranty. After which notices, and the proofs I have of your Excellency's desire to see this affair finished to our satisfaction, I have cause to hope, that your Excellency having already received the said orders, will be at no farther pain to specify the said term, wherein his Britannic Majesty will give us supplies in the same form that other confederate Princes have granted them, whether in the same act, or in an instrument apart, as your Excellency offers in your letter; and I desire you earnest-

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ly

livrance des 200000 patacoons aux Ministres de la Couronne de Suede; en la forme que V. E. l'aura appris plus à plein du Sieur Don Estevan de Gamarra. Et d'ailleurs, comme nôtre Resident à la Cour de Londres, Don Manuel de Fonseca, me mande par lettres du 24 & 30 de Janvier, que le Garde Seaux, Milord Arlington, & le Secrétaire Trevor, l'ont tous trois assuré, qu' apres que sa Majesté Britannique avoit esté informée en detail des raisons qui nous assistent, elle avoit resolu de vous ordonner de conclurre le traité, & de specifier le tems dans l'acte des assistances, comme je l'avois demandé, & qu'en cette conformité l'on vous enverroit les ordres: moyennant, quoy l'on ne doutoit plus à Londres de l'entiere conclusion de la garantie. Ensuite des quelles notices, & des preuves que j'ay du desir de V. E. de voir vuider cette affaire à nôtre satisfaction; j'ay sujet d'esperer que vôtre Excellence ayant deja receu lesdits ordres, elle n'aura plus de peine de specifier ledit terme, auquel sa Majesté Britannique nous donnera le secours, en la même forme que les autres pôtentates confederées l'ont accordé, soit dans le même acte, ou dans un instrument à part, comme V. E. l'offre en sa lettre; & je l'en prie tres instamment de le vouloir faire, à fin que nous donnions l'accomplissement tout entier de ce traité à sa Majesté

U u u

Bretannique

522 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

ly to do it, that we may acknowledge the entire accomplishment of this treaty to his *Britannic* Majesty, and to the disposition of your Excellency, from whose hand I still expect this favour, accompanied with that of your commands to serve you, as being entirely,

My Lord,

*Your Excellency's most humble
and most affectionate servant.*

Bretannique, & à la disposition de V. E. de la main de laquelle j'attens encore cette faveur, accompagnée de celle de ses commandemens en son service, comme étant entierement,

Monfieur,

De Vôte Excellence

tres humble & tres

affectionné serviteur,

Connetable.

From the Count de Monterey.

Monfieur,

Bruxelles, 27. Juil. 1670.

L*E S* temoignages qu'il a plu à vôte Excellence de me donner de la joye que luy a causé le choix que la Reyne ma maîtresse a fait de moy pour le gouvernement des ces provinces, sont si evidents, & accompagnés des avis si salutaires & dignes de la prudence de V. E. que je ne trouve pas des termes propres pour expliquer les sentimens d'obligation & de gratitude qui me'n demeurent : j'espere que cette nouvelle charge me subministrera les occasions frequentes, de luy faire voir plutôt par les effets & mes services, que par des paroles, le desir que j'ay de cultiver non seulement la bonne correspondance & amitié avec V. E. mais aussi d'executer les bons conseils & instructions qu'elle a eu agreable de me communiquer en sa lettre du 22. de ce mois, pour tant mieux adresser en cet penible charge selon les souhaits de V. E. à quoy j'appliqueray tous mes soins et mes forces avec autant de chaleur & de passion que je suis,

Monfieur, de vôte Excellence

tres humble et tres dedié serviteur,

J. Compte de Monterey.

From

From Sir John Werden.

My Lord, Stockholm, Sept. 17. O. S. 1670.

I Came to this place about eighteen days ago, and have not in all this time met with any thing worthy of your Excellency's notice ; the most apparent reason whereof hath been the absence of this King and Court, who have made a kind of progress through some parts of this country, and are expected here again about a fortnight hence.

Among other things, I have brought with me and delivered a letter from the King my master to this King ; reciting one lately sent from *Spain*, wherein that Queen signifies her assent to the arbitration of *England* and *Sweden* ; but at the same time insinuates her desires to have *Holland* admitted as a third arbitrator ; and offering to renew their joint instances to *Spain*, to induce that Crown to consent to the arbitration, in the same form as *France* hath all along offered ; both the King my master and this Crown being persuaded that *France* hath condescended as far already as is necessary for the amicable composition designed ; at least, that the arbitrators named by *France* are as well qualified for it as any other can be.

Your Excellency will oblige me much to let me have such notices, relating either to this or any other public matter, as your Excellency shall judge proper for me to know : in return whereof, if I am unable to present your Excellency with other than relations of the *Tartars* incursions and success in *Muscovy*, of our future dismal frosts, of witches out of *Lapland*, &c. it is the fault of my station, and only my misfortune that

524 LETTERS of Sir William Temple,

that I am like to be so useleſs a correſpondent ; being otherways very really,

My Lord,

Your Excellency's moſt affectionate

and moſt obedient humble ſervant,

John Werden.

P. S. I ſhould be glad to know what conſequences are drawn from the *French* ſeiſure of *Lorrain*, (which at this diſtance affords us much variety of diſcourſe.

Alſo, whether the ſubject of *Monſieur de Anjeau's* embaffy from *France* hither be yet gueſſed at, and what it is.

From Monſieur de Witt.

Hague, Oct. 21.

My Lord, 1670.

I Received the honour of both your Excellency's letters of the 23d and 30th of September, upon the ſubject of the *Engliſh* ſhip, which the director of the *West-India* Company in the iſle of *Curaca* has arreſted. *Meſſieurs Boreel* and *Beuninghen* have wrote about it at the ſame time to the *States General*, who are very much diſpoſed to give order in this matter, for all that juſtice can ſuffer to be done, in conſideration of the King of *England*. But whereaſ the *Spaniſh* Ambaſſador has preſented them a memorial upon the ſame af-
fair

A la Haye, Oct. 21.

Monſieur, 1670.

J'AY receu les deux lettres que votre Excellence m'a fait l'honneur de m'écrire du 23 & 30 Sept. ſtile d'Angleterre, au ſujet du navire Anglois, que le directeur qui eſt de la part de la Compagnie des Indes occidentales dans l'Iſle de Curaca a fait arreter. Meſſieurs Boreel & Van Beuninghen en ont écrit en même tems à Meſs. les états généraux, qui ſe trouvent fort diſpoſés à ordonner ſur ce ſujet, tout ce que la juſtice pourra ſouffrir eſtre fait, en la conſideration du Roy de la Grande Bretagne. Mais comme Monſieur l'Ambaſſadeur d'Eſpagne leur a preſenté un me-
moire

fair; and that it is without doubt, of importance for the common good, to have this incident terminated by an amicable concert between the parties; at least, because the rules of common justice will not allow that an affair should be decided without hearing him or them that believe themselves concerned in it: *their High and Mightinesses* have given direction by this ordinary to their Ministers at *London*, to endeavour bringing the affair to an accommodation between the Ministers of *Great Britain* and *Monsieur de Molina* the Ambassador of *Spain* at his Majesty's Court. I send you the copy of the Ambassador *Gamarra's* Memorial, that you may see the *Spaniards* do not agree to what others say in their favour: but this will not hinder the *States* from doing, in consideration of his Majesty, the utmost that can consist with justice; as I in my particular shall contribute all in my power to his satisfaction, and to whatever will help to preserve the good intelligence between his Majesty and this *State*. To this end I could have wished, that there had not appeared on either side, any libels, verses, medals, or other such displeasing things, and particularly, that the accidents of the last war might no more be thought on, whereof the memory should

moire sur la même affaire, & qu'il importe sans doute pour le bien commun que l'on termine cet incident par un concert aimable entre les intéressés; au moins & que l'ordre & les regles de la justice ne permettent pas que l'on dispose dans une affaire sans avoir ouy celuy ou ceux que s'y croient touchés; leurs Hautes Puissances ordonnent par cet ordinaire à Messieurs leurs Ministres qui sont à *Londres*, de tâcher de porter l'affaire à un accommodement aimable entre les Ministres du Roy de la *Grande Bretagne*, & *Monsieur de Molina* Ambassadeur du Roy d'*Espagne* à la cour de sa Majesté. Je vous envoie, Monsieur, la copie du Memoire de l'Ambassadeur de *Gamarra*, afin que vous y voyiez que les *Espagnols* ne demeurent pas d'accord de tout ce que les autres disent en leur faveur; mais cela n'empêchera pas que Messieurs les etats en fassent en la consideration de sa Majesté tout ce qui se pourra faire en toute l'estendue de la justice, comme en mon particulier je contribueray toujours ce qui sera de mon pouvoir à sa satisfaction, & à ce qui pourra servir à maintenir la bonne intelligence entre elle & cet Etat. Pour cet effet je souhaiterois que de part & d'autre il n'eût point paru des libelles, des vers, des medailles, ou autres choses semblables, qui eussent pû déplaire; & particulierement que l'on ne songeât plus aux accidens d'une

should be for ever abolished. And I confess freely, that in this country, there is a little too much licence given in certain things; though after the most diligent search we could not find that the libels complained of, were printed in this province. Besides you know, there are epidemical evils which are without remedy, and all that one can do is to give some ease to a distemper which cannot be intirely cured: you, my Lord, and those who resemble you, are above such trifles, as you properly call them, and consider only the true intentions of the State, where the King shall ever find all the respect he can desire.

For the rest, I refer myself to what the said Deputies of the State will tell you upon the subject of your last letters: and for me, I shall ever think it an honour to let the King know, that after the service I owe my country, I shall employ myself for that of his Majesty, with all imaginable zeal, especially if you will please to mix yours with mine,

since

d'une guerre dont la memoire devoit estre abolie à jamais; Et j'avoue volontiers qu'en ce pais l'on se donne un peu trop de licence en des certaines choses: quoyque pourtant après une recherche tres exacte, l'on n'ait point scu trouver que les libelles dont on se plaint par de là, ayent esté imprimés en cette Province. Mais vous savez aussi qu'il y a des maux epidemiques qui sont sans remede, Et que tout ce que l'on y peut faire, c'est d'adoucir le mal que l'on ne peut pas entierement guerir. Vous, Monsieur, Et ceux qui vous ressemblent, vous estes au dessus de ce que vous nommez bien, bagatelles, Et ne vous arrêtez qu'aux veritables intentions de l'Etat; ou le Roy trouvera toujours tout le respect Et tous les sentimens qu'il pourra souhaiter.

Au reste, je me remets à ce que lesdits Ministres de l'Etat vous diront de plus sur les matieres cantenuës en vos susdites lettres. Et pour ce qui est de moy, je tiendray à gloire de faire connoître au Roy, qu'après le service que je dois à ma patrie, je m'emploieray pour celui de sa Majesté avec tout le zele imaginable; sur tout, quand vous y voudrez mêler le vôtre; puis-

que

since it is with an inclination altogether particular that I am,

My Lord,

your Excellency's most

humble and most

affectionate servant.

From the Baron d'Isola.

Hague, Nov. 14.

My Lord, 1670.

I Am extreme glad to hear by your Excellency's letter, of your happy return from the country to the Court, together with a good account of your health; but I confess I should have been much more pleased to have learnt it from your own mouth than your letter. Your absence from this place begins to be tiresome; and every body is much concerned at the great occasions that are lost by it, for advancing the public good.

The readiness that the Parliament of England hath shewed in giving considerable aids to his Britannic Majesty, is a mark of their zeal and prudence; and makes it manifest enough, that they know their true interest; and apprehend as they ought, the progress and preparations of the neighbouring Princes. I doubt

que c'est avec une inclination tout particuliere que je suis,

Monfieur,

De vôtre Excellence

le tres humble & tres

affectionné serviteur,

Johan. de Witt.

A la Haye, 14 Nov.

Monfieur, 1670.

C'Est avec beaucoup de joye j'ay appris par la lettre de vôtre Excellence son heureux retour de la campagne à la Cour, & la parfaite santé dont elle jouit. Mais je vous confesse que j'aurois beaucoup mieux aimé les apprendre par sa propre bouche que par ses lettres: son absence commence à devenir ennuyeuse, & tout le monde est disconcerté beaucoup de bonnes choses qui se pourroient faire pour le bien public.

La promptitude que la Parlement d'Angletrre a temoigné pour donner des assistances considerables à sa Majesté Britannique, est une marque de son zele & de sa prudence, & fait assés connoître qu'il connoit ses veritables interêts, & qu'il apprehende comme il doit les progrès & les preparatifs des puissances voisines. Je ne doute pas que

doubt not but his Majesty will correspond with their good desires, by such strong and vigorous resolutions, as the present time and his own interest require. *France* still continues to give out, that *England* is wholly in their interests, and that all these preparations are in their favour. At the same time the *French* publish this, they endeavour to persuade us that the *Emperor* has no good intentions, and that they are in a strict league with him. But since their game is to rule by making division, ours ought to be that of supporting ourselves by uniting. I believe, the intentions of your Court are very sincere, and I can assure you, that ours are so too: it only remains that we should rightly understand one another, and despise all the suggestions of those who can only find their account in our disunion. I assure you, that your long stay where you are, is very hurtful to affairs in general, as well as to the particular service of the King your master. I dare not mention to you all the bad effects it causes: and after all, the *French* make bad use of it towards your Court, to publish so confidently as they do, that they are in private intelligence there, since it is a thing evidently false; and if it were true, it is a very unfaithful part in them to divulge

que sa Majesté ne corresponde à leurs bons desirs, par des fortes & vigoureuses résolutions, telles que le tems présent & ses propres intérêts requièrent. La *France* continue toujours à publier que l'*Angleterre* est d'accord avec elle, & que tous ces préparatifs se font en sa faveur. Elle publie tout cela en même tems qu'elle tâche de vous persuader que l'*Empereur* n'a point des bonnes intentions; & qu'elle est en des étroites liaisons avec lui. Mais comme son jeu est de regner en divisant, le nôtre doit être aussi de nous soutenir en nous unissant. Je croy les intentions de votre Cour fort sinceres, & je vous puis assurer que les nôtres le sont aussi. Il ne reste qu'à nous bien entendre, & à mépriser de part & d'autre toutes les suggestions de ceux qui ne peuvent trouver leur compte que dans notre disunion. Je vous assure en vérité que votre trop long séjour au lieu où vous êtes, est fort nuisible aux affaires publiques, & au service particulier de votre Roy. Je n'ose pas vous écrire tous les mauvais effets que cela cause, & après tout, les *François* en usent très mal envers votre Cour, de publier comme ils font très effrontément qu'ils sont en secrette intelligence avec elle; puisque cela est évidemment faux, & quand il seroit véritable, ce ne seroit pas agir fidèlement de la divulguer: mais ils en usent avec les Princes comme ils font avec les femmes,

de

vulge it. But they serve
Princes just as they do Women,
whose favours they publish,
whether they have received a-
ny or no. I protest to you,
I think all sort of commerce
with them is dangerous.

Pray believe me to be more
than any one in the world,

de qui ils publient les faveurs
receues & non receues. Je vous
avoue que toute sorte de com-
merce avec eux est dangereux.

Croyez je vous prie que je suis
plus que personne du monde,

Monsieur,

de v6tre Excellence

tres humble & tres

obeissant serviteur,

F. d'Isola.

My Lord,

your Excellency's most

humble and most

obedient servant.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord,

Hague, March 10. N. S. 1671.

I Received yesterday morning your Excellency's let-
ter of Feb. 19th, and at the same instant went to
Monsieur de Witt, and imparted him your Lordship's
commands: to which he answered, that he knew of
no other paper that Monsieur Van Beuninghen had
brought over with him, than one sheer wherein the
case was stated in *Latin* by the interested persons. Be-
sides, he had hoped some agreement might have been
made in *England* with the *Spanish* Ministers: but
since it is not so, he promised, * *D'y tenir la main*, as
soon as Monsieur Van Beuninghen comes from *Amster-*
dam. After which he asked me when we expected
your Excellency? My answer was, that I could not
yet assure him of any certain time, but that I thought

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* To give a hand to it.

it would be very shortly. He replied, * *Qu'on en doutoit bien icy: qu'il savoit que le Parlement estoit fort zelé pour les interêts communs, mais que la cour n'y estoit pas trop disposée: que neantmoins ils avoient fait un dernier effort par une lettre à sa Majesté, ou ils offroient de faire une alliance aussi étroite qu'on voudroit. Que pour l'absence ou venue de votre Excellence, il les prendroit pour une preuve infallible de la bonne ou mauvaise volonté de l'Angleterre.* And as I was taking my leave, he repeated the last sentence; and added, † *Faites luy mes baise-mains, & dites luy cela de ma part;* which I promised to do.

The truth is, my Lord, this country has of late generally conceived so ill an opinion of *England's* intentions, that they do quite despair of any succour from thence: which makes them the readier to put themselves in posture; so that the consent of *Zealand* being come, the committee-council of *Holland* are swearing the new officers, and giving out commissions, intending the latter end of this week to deliver the money.

The *States of Holland* are expected here to-day, and will be compleat this week, notwithstanding a general fast and thanksgiving, which will be kept to-morrow thro' the Seven Provinces, as is usually done every year.

Your Excellency does without doubt know, that Captain *O Bryan* and Sir *Thomas Sands* are here; as well as that my Lord *Ossory* intends in few days to pass through

* That it was doubted here very much: that he knew, the Parliament was very zealous for the common interests, but that the Court was not over much disposed to them: that however, they had made one last effort in a letter to his Majesty, wherein they offered to make as strict an alliance as could be desired. That for the absence or return of your Excellency, they took them for an infallible proof of the good or bad will of *England*.

† Make him my compliments, and tell him this from me.

through *Flanders*, to *Nieuport*, or *Dunkirk*, whether the yachts are gone to meet him. I am,

My Lord,

your Excellency's most humble

and most obedient servant,

W. Blaithwayt.

From Mr. Blaithwayt.

My Lord,

Hague, May 5. N. S. 1671.

UPON the receipt of your Excellency's letter of the 14th April, I went to Monsieur de Witt to solicit an expedition in the business of the *English* ship. He promised me, *d'y tenir la main*, and to further it as much as possible; but withal told me that it was true, *Que nous avions raison au fond, mais que nous prenions l'affaire sur un mauvais pied*. That we have no reason in the world to lay the blame upon the *Dutch*, and to demand satisfaction for the injury the *Spaniards* have done us. That we could not at all prove any breach of articles in what had passed. That in case (to use his example) a man borrowed my sword, and with it commits murder or robbery, I am not in the least responsible for his misdemeanors, no more than the *Dutch* for what the *Spaniards* have done: and if this be true, we have not exhibited any one argument that can hold good. But the argument Monsieur de Witt says we ought wholly to insist upon, is, that *Feroni* at the letting out his ship made a contract with the *Genoueses* (which I have long since transmitted your Lordship) wherein it is positively said that they should not therein offend or molest the *English* nation. So that now the *Genoueses* having so evidently broken this contract, and withal bringing their prize into the dominions of the *States*; the same *States* may with a great deal of

of reason oblige them to make good the contract they have made with one of their subjects. And, just as, in case the man that has committed robbery with the sword I had lent him, brings into my hands what he has stolen, I am in justice to render every thing to the owner. By the same reason the *States* are obliged to make restitution of the ship and lading to the owners, as taken contrary to promise, and by the means of a ship belonging to one of their subjects. For the state of the business your Excellency sent me, I easily guessed by Monsieur *de Witt*'s discourse, that he had already seen it; and having been afterwards with Monsieur *Schimmelpenning* the chief Commissioner, as Monsieur *de Witt* had advised me, to recommend to him the business, and to insinuate this argument; I found he had the same paper already in his hands in *Latin*.

As for the other point, whether Monsieur *Beverning* has offered a defensive or offensive league with *Spain*; your Lordship will please to remember, that in the intelligence of the 2d of *April*, it is said, * *Que cet Etat avoit toujours rejeté une alliance defensive que l'Espagne avoit offert, & qu'on avoit opiné qu'on la falloit encore rejeter*. But the same paper says, that at the same time it was resolved, that order should be given to Monsieur *Beverning* to propose a treaty for one year only. The *States* cannot yet have an answer whether this treaty has been accepted of or no. However, as soon as I can learn any thing farther in this point, I will not fail to inform your Lordship of it.

Monsieur

* That this State has always rejected a defensive alliance offered by *Spain*, and that it was thought they must still reject it.

Monsieur Pompone went last *Saturday* for *Dunkirk*, where the *French King* is by this time. I am

My Lord,
your Excellency's most humble
and most obedient servant,

W. Blaithe wayt,

From my Lord Arlington.

S I R,

Goring-house, June 28. 1671.

I Humbly thank you for your cherries, which were so good, that I grieve for the loss of those that could not find me at *Windsor*.

Having his Majesty's approbation of your writing to the *States* to take your leave of them; and he refusing to see your letter; it was not at all necessary you should shew it me: yet, to comply with your desire, I have read and approved it. You are best judge, having lived among them, whether the form be good; to the matter I am sure nothing can be objected; nor to my profession of being ever

Your most faithful, and
humble servant,

Arlington,

The End of the Third Volume.

1833

My dear Sir,

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
W. B. Richardson

From my friend, Mr. Richardson

1833

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst.

and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities.

I am, Sir, very respectfully,
Your obedient servant,
W. B. Richardson



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1833